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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Free Labor Advocate.

ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING,—GREAT EXCITEMENT.

Friend B. Stanton:—I wrote thee a few days since, and finished my letter in a hurried manner, scarcely having time to finish it; being called upon to attend to a case of arrest for a riot which took place at the house of a colored man named John Rhodes about six or seven miles north of this place. The case was this. About seven years since a man, his wife, and small child came into this county from Missouri, poor, destitute, with nothing except their tattered clothes to begin with. They settled on the place alluded to, purchased a small tract of land, and by industry and economy they acquired a comfortable subsistence. Two other children had been added to their little family. They were enjoying the comforts and conveniences of life, and the confidence and good will of their neighbors, for none had aught to lay to their charge. While thus unconscious of danger, on Seventhday morning, the 20th of the 4th month, some time before day, supposed about two o'clock, their humble and peaceful abode was surrounded by seven or eight fiends in human shape, three of them claiming to be from Missouri, and the others, citizens of this county, who informed them that one of them was their master and that he wished to come in. But admittance was denied them. They then attempted to force open the door, and succeeded in breaking it down; but those within, immediately replaced it across the doorway and drew a bedstead against it. Here John stood with his axe, threatening to hew down the first one that should attempt to enter. Finding the door thus guarded, they demolished the chimney, and attempted to enter there, but here female courage kept them at bay. Various combustibles were thrown on the fire, and one of the assailants who attempted to scale the breach, received some missile from the female hand on his cheek, which felled him back. Thus they withstood the whole force, crying murder and hallowing till sometime after sunrise, when their cries brought some of the neighbors to their assistance; and about eleven o'clock the news reached Westfield, and a number of citizens started immediately to the scene of action, and the neighbors from different directions kept flocking in through the day, and in the afternoon another messenger came to town and said that they wished me to go and meet them at the cross roads, about three miles from town—that the colored family were in a wagon belonging to one of the neighbors, and wished to come to Westfield—that the slaveholders wished to go to Noblesville, and the friends of the blacks wished my advice. I immediately set off, and when I arrived near the cross roads I saw many people collected, perhaps one hundred or more; the wagon in the midst, and the human hyenas in front, on horseback, facing the team, one of them holding a double barrel gun, and I was informed that when the wagon arrived at this point and was steering towards Westfield, they rode in front, and in the name of the State of Indiana ordered them to stop, brandishing their weapons and threatening to shoot the driver if he did not stop.—I rode up near the wagon, and within a few feet of the armed tyrants, who wished everybody to bow to them; but I saw very plainly from the countenance of the multitude, that they were in a wrong neck of wood for that. As soon as I had taken a momentary survey of the scene, I addressed them briefly, telling them we had nothing to fear if we went into trial, for if they got judgment against the blacks, we would appeal, and I thought we should be able to bring evidence that they were free &c. But the greatest difficulty was whether they should go to Westfield or to Noblesville. The claimants swearing that they would not go to Westfield, and the crowd protesting that they would not go to Noblesville. Thus matters continued for some time, when the driver dismounted from the wagon, and another one took his place. The crowd was still increasing, and the man-hunters becoming calm, he told them to get out of his way, for he was going to drive to Westfield. At which they looked a little wrathy, but turned out of the way, saying you have taken our slaves from us, and we will go to Noblesville and return our writ, (for they had a writ issued from the Clerk of the Circuit Court.) Here the parties separated, they going to Noblesville and the crowd to Westfield. I rode on ahead of the wagon, as did most of the company.

When we reached Westfield, we waited anxiously for the arrival of the wagon, but when it arrived the load had entirely changed color—all in it being white. The excitement continued, and it was expected that search would be made in Westfield for them that night, as the last words which I heard them say, were, that they would have the negroes out of Westfield that night, if there were men enough in the State to take them. But the night passed quietly by, and the next day it seemed to be the theme of conversation. Another night passed, and Westfield was not sacked. Pretty early next morning we heard that some person in Noblesville had been arrested for a riot, and wished some of us to come to town as witnesses. We were soon on the road; but before we were much over half way, we met the officer with a summons, but it was so late before all the witnesses arrived, the trial was mostly after night, and about half-past twelve o'clock, they were recognized to the court; and strange to tell, there were men in Indiana ready to bail them. This took place on the 22d, and on the 24th we were summoned again to appear on the 25th, at 12 o'clock, as they had got the judgment opened, and a new trial was to take place. Accordingly we repaired at the time to the place of trial, and learned that one of them who claimed John and family, was going to make a witness of one of the others to prove that he was the owner of the family, and consequently had a right to tear down and demolish as much as they pleased; but this was not allowed, and the trial was likely to progress, when Vaughn filed an affidavit that he feared he could not get justice. It was then sent to another Justice of Noblesville, but this would not do, as they feared he might be tinctured with Abolition: and the trial was changed to another justice, some six miles east of Noblesville, and put off to 2nd day the 29th, at 12 o'clock. The day came—we repaired to the place of trial; but when we reached Noblesville, affairs had taken another turn; another lawyer had been procured, and he soon convinced the parties that a recognizance when taken by a justice of the peace, must be filed in the Clerk's office, and that no opening or changing was allowed of. So matters were brought back to where they were at the end of the first trial. The securities then gave up the defendants and a writ of Habeas Corpus was issued, and they were brought to trial under it, before J. Colborn, one of the associate Judges, and though two of the Missourians were equally held in the recognizance, the Judge allowed one of them to be a witness for the others, to prove that the persons claimed were his property, and on this evidence they were acquitted, the Judge deciding that they had a right to use all the violence that was necessary to take them, and that in his opinion no more had been used. Thine, &c., ASA BALES.

Selections.

From the Boston Courier.

LETTER FROM FRANCIS JACKSON.

To His Excellency, George N. Briggs:

BOSTON, 4th July, 1844.

SIR:—Many years since, I received from the Executive of the Commonwealth, a commission as Justice of the Peace. I have held the office that it conferred upon me till the present time, and have found it a convenience to myself, and others. It might continue to be so, could I consent longer to hold it. But paramount considerations forbid, and I herewith transmit to you my commission, respectfully asking you to accept my resignation.

While I deem it a duty to myself to take this step, I feel called on to state the reasons that influence me.

In entering upon the duties of the office in question, I complied with the requirement of law, by taking an oath "*to support the Constitution of the United States.*" I regret that I ever took that oath. Had I then as maturely considered its full import, and the obligation under which it is understood, and meant to lay those who take it, as I have done since, I certainly never would have taken it, seeing, as I now do, that the Constitution of the United States contains provisions calculated and intended to foster, cherish, uphold, and perpetuate *Slavery*. It pledges the country to guard and protect the slave system, so long as the slaveholding States choose to retain it. It regards the slave code as lawful in the States which enact it. Still more, "it has done that which, until its adoption, was never before done for African Slavery. It took it out of its former category of municipal law and local life, adopted it as a national institution, spread around it the broad and sufficient shield of national law, and thus gave to Slavery a national existence." Consequently, the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, is a solemn promise to do that which is morally wrong; that which is a violation of the natural rights of man, and a sin in the sight of God.

I am not, in this matter, constituting myself a judge of others. I do not say, that no honest man can take such an oath, and abide by it. I only say that *I* would not now deliberately take it; and that, having inconsiderately taken it, I can no longer suffer it to lie upon my soul. I take back the oath, and ask you, Sir, to take back the commission, which was the occasion of my taking it.

I am aware that my course in this matter is liable to be regarded as singular, if not censurable; and I must, therefore, be allowed to make a more specific statement of those *provisions of the Constitution* which support the enormous wrong, the heinous sin of Slavery.

The very first article of the Constitution takes Slavery at once under its legislative protection, as a basis of representation in the popular branch of the National Legislature. It regards slaves under the description of "all other *persons*,—as of only three-fifths of the value of free persons; thus, to appearance, undervaluing them in comparison with freemen. But its dark and involved phraseology, seems intended to blind us to the consideration, that those underrated slaves are merely a *basis*, not the *subject* of representation; that by the laws of all the States where they live, they are regarded not as *persons* but as *things*; that they are not the *constituency* of the representative, but his property; and that the necessary effect of this provision of the Constitution is, to take legislative power out of the hands of *men*, as such, and give it to the mere possessors of goods and chattels. It fixes upon thirty thousand persons, as the smallest number that shall send one member into the House of Representatives; protects Slavery by distributing legislative power in a free and in a slave State thus:—To a Congressional district in South Carolina, containing fifty-thousand slaves, claimed as the property of five hundred whites, who hold, on an average, one hundred a-piece, it gives one representative in Congress; to a district in Massachusetts, containing a population of thirty thousand five hundred, one representative is assigned. But inasmuch as a slave is never permitted to vote, the fifty thousand persons in a district in Carolina form no part of "the constituency;" *that* is found only in the five hundred free persons. Five hundred freemen of Carolina, could send one representative to Congress, while it would take thirty thousand five hundred freemen of Massachusetts, to do the same thing: that is, one slaveholder in Carolina, is clothed by the Constitution with the same political power and influence in the Representative Hall at Washington, as sixty Massachusetts men like you and me, who "eat their bread in the sweat of their own brows."

According to the census of 1840, and the *ratio* of representation based upon that, slave property added twenty-five members to the House of Representatives. And, as it has been estimated (as an approximation to the truth) that the two and a half million slaves in the United States, are held as property by about two hundred and fifty thousand persons—giving an average of ten slaves to one slaveholder, those twenty-five representatives, each chosen, at most, by only ten thousand voters, and probably by less than one third of that number, were the representatives, not only of the two hundred and fifty thousand persons who chose them; but of *property* which, five years ago, when slaves were lower in market, than at present, were estimated, by the man who is now the most prominent candidate for the Presidency, at twelve hundred millions of dollars—a sum which, by the natural increase of five years, and the enhanced value resulting from a more prosperous state of the planting interest, cannot now be less than fifteen hundred millions of dollars. All this vast amount of property, as it is "peculiar," is also identical in its character. In Congress, as we have seen, it is animated by one spirit, moves in one mass, and is wielded with one aim; and when we consider that tyranny is always timid, and despotism distrustful, we see that this vast money power would be false to itself, did it not direct all its eyes and hands, and put forth all its ingenuity and energy, to one end—self-protection, and self-perpetuation. And this it has ever done. In all the vibrations of the political scale, whether in relation to a Bank or Sub-Treasury, Free Trade or a Tariff, this immense power has moved, and will continue to move, in one mass, for its own protection.

While the weight of the slave influence is thus felt in the House of Representatives, "in the Senate of the Union," says John Quincy Adams, "the proportion of slaveholding power is still greater. By the influence of slavery in the States where the institution is tolerated, over their elections, no other than a slaveholder can rise to the distinction of obtaining a seat in the Senate; and thus, of the fifty-two members of the Federal Senate, twenty-six are owners of slaves, and as effectually representatives of that interest, as the eighty-eight members elected by them to the House."

The dominant power which the Constitution gives to the slave interest, as thus seen and exercised in the *Legislative Halls* of our nation, is equally obvious and obtrusive, in every other department of the National Government.

In the *Electoral colleges*, the same cause produces the same effects—the same power is wielded for the same purpose, as in the halls of Congress. Even the preliminary nominating conventions, before they dare to name a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people, must ask of the genius of Slavery, to what votary she will show herself propitious. This very year, we see both the great political parties doing homage to the slave power, by nominating each a slaveholder for the chair of State. The candidate of one party declares, "I should have opposed, and would continue to oppose, any scheme whatever of emancipation, either gradual or immediate;" and adds, "It is not true, and I rejoice that it is not true, that either of the two great parties of this country, has any design or aim at Abolition. I should deeply lament it if it were true."*

The other party nominates a man who says, "I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the immediate re-annexation of Texas to the territory and Government of the United States."

Thus both the political parties, and the candidates of both, vie with each other, in offering allegiance to the slave power, as a condition precedent to any hope of success in the struggle for the executive chair; a seat that, for more than three-fourths of the existence of our constitutional Government, has been occupied by a slaveholder.

The same stern despotism overshadows even the sanctuaries of *justice*. Of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, five are slaveholders, and of course must be faithless to their own interest, as well as recreant to the power that gives them place, or must, so far as *they* are concerned, give both to law and Constitution such a construction as shall justify the language of John Quincy Adams, when he says—in regard to the Government of the United States—"The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, are all in their hands—for the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of the black code of Slavery. Every law of the Legislature becomes a link in the chain of the slave; every executive act, a rivet to his hapless fate; every judicial decision, a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of wrong."

Thus, by merely adverting but briefly to the theory and the practical effect of this clause of the Constitution that I have sworn to support, it is seen that it throws the political power of the nation into the hands of the slaveholders; a body of men, which, however it may be regarded by the Constitution as "persons," is in fact, and in practical effect, a vast moneyed corporation, bound together by an indissoluble unity of interest, by a common sense of a common danger; counselling at all times for its common protection; wielding the whole power, and controling the destiny of the nation.

If we look into the legislative halls, Slavery is seen in the chair of the presiding officer of each, and controlling the action of both. Slavery occupies, by prescriptive right, the Presidential chair. The paramount voice that comes from the temple of national justice, issues from the lips of Slavery. The army is in the hands of Slavery, and at her bidding, must encamp in the everglades of Florida, or march from the Missouri to the borders of Mexico, to look after her interests in Texas.

The Navy, even that part of it that is cruising off the coast of Africa, to suppress the foreign slave-trade, is in the hands of Slavery.

Freemen of the North who have ever dared to lift up their voice against Slavery, cannot travel through the slave States but at the peril of their lives.

The representatives of freemen are forbidden, on the floor of Congress, to remonstrate against the encroachments of Slavery, or to pray that she would let her poor victims go.

I renounce my allegiance to a Constitution that enthrones such a power, wielded for the purpose of depriving me of my rights, of robbing my countrymen of their liberties, and of securing its own protection, support, and perpetuation.

Passing by that clause of the Constitution, which restricted Congress for twenty years, from passing any law against the African slave-trade, and which gave authority to raise a revenue upon the stolen sons of Africa, I come to that part of the fourth article, which guarantees protection against "*domestic violence*," and which pledges to the South the military force of the country, to protect the masters against their insurgent slaves: binds us, and our children, to shoot down our fellow-countrymen, who may rise, in emulation of our Revolutionary Fathers, to vindicate their inalienable "right to life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness,"—this clause of the Constitution, I say distinctly, I never will support.

That part of the Constitution which provides for the surrender of fugitive slaves, I never have supported, and never will. I will join in no slave-hunt. My door shall stand open, as it has long stood, for the panting and trembling victim of the slave-hunter. When I shut it against him, may God shut the door of his mercy against me! Under this clause of the Constitution, and designed to carry it into effect, Slavery has demanded that laws should be passed, of such a character, as have left the free citizen of the North without protection for his own liberty. The question, whether a man seized in a free State as a slave, *is* a slave, or not, the law of Congress does not allow a jury to determine; but refers it to the decision of a judge of a United States Court, or even of the humblest State magistrate, it may be, upon the testimony or affidavit of the party most directly and deeply interested to support the claim. By virtue of this law, freemen have been seized, and dragged into perpetual Slavery—and should I be seized by a slave-hunter in any part of the country where I am not personally known, neither the Constitution, nor the laws of the United States, would shield me from the same destiny.

These, Sir, are the specific parts of the Constitution of the United States, which, in my opinion, are essentially vicious, hostile at once to the liberty, and to the morals of the nation. And these are the principal reasons of my refusal any longer to acknowledge my allegiance to it, and of my determination to revoke my oath to support it. I cannot, in order to keep a law of man, break the law of God, or solemnly call him to witness my promise that I will break it.

It is true that the Constitution provides for its own amendment, and that by this process, all the guarantees of Slavery may be expunged. But it will be time enough to swear to support it when this is done. It cannot be right to do so, until these amendments are made.

It is also true, that the framers of the Constitution did studiously keep the words "Slaves" and "Slavery" from its face. But to do our Constitutional fathers justice, while they forbore—from very shame—to give the word "Slavery" a place in the Constitution, they did not forbear—again to do them justice—to give place in it to the *thing*. They were careful to wrap up the idea, and the substance of Slavery, in the clause for the surrender of the fugitive, though they sacrificed justice in doing so.

There is abundant evidence that this clause touching "persons held to service and labor," not only operates practically, under judicial construction, for the protection of the slave interest; but that it was *intended* so to operate by the framers of the Constitution. The highest judicial authorities, Chief Justice Shaw, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in the Latimer case, and Mr. Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania*, tell us, I know not on what evidence, that, without this "compromise," this provision for the security of Southern slaveholders, "the Union could not have been formed." And there is still higher evidence, not only that the framers of the Constitution meant by this clause to protect Slavery, but that they did this knowing that Slavery was wrong. Mr. Madison† informs us that the clause in question, as it came out of the hands of Dr. Johnson, the chairman of the "Committee on style," read thus: "No person legally held to service or labor, in one State, escaping into another, shall," &c.; was struck out, and the words "under the laws thereof" inserted after the word "State," in compliance with the wish of some, who thought the term *legal* equivocal, and favoring the idea that Slavery was legal "*in a moral view?*" A conclusive proof that, although future generations might apply that clause of the Constitution to other kinds of "service or labor," when Slavery should have died out, or been killed off by the young spirit of liberty which was *then* awake, and at work in the land; still, Slavery was what they were wrapping up in "equivocal" words; and wrapping it up for its protection and safe-keeping;—a conclusive proof that the framers of the Constitution were more careful to protect themselves in the judgment of coming generations, from the charge of ignorance, than of sin; a conclusive proof that they knew that Slavery was *not* "legal in a moral view," that it was a violation of the moral law of God, and yet knowing and confessing its immorality, they dared to make this stipulation for its support and defence.

This language may sound harsh to the ears of those who may think it a part of their duty, as citizens, to maintain that whatever the patriots of the Revolution did, was right; and who hold that we are bound to *do* all the iniquity that they covenanted for us that we *should* do. But the claims of truth and right are paramount to all other claims.

With all our veneration for our constitutional fathers, we must admit, for they have left upon record their own confession of it,—that in this part of their work, they *intended* to hold the shield of their protection over a wrong, knowing that it was a wrong. They made a "compromise" which they had no right to make—a compromise of moral principle, for the sake of what they probably regarded as "political expediency." I am sure they did not know—no man could know, or can now measure the extent, or the consequences of the wrong they were doing. In the strong language of John Quincy Adams,† in relation to the article fixing the basis of representation, "Little did the members of the Convention, from the free States, imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."

I verily believe that, giving all due consideration to the benefits conferred upon this nation by the Constitution, its national unity, its swelling masses of wealth, its power, and the external prosperity of its multiplying millions; yet the *moral* injury that has been done, by the countenance shown to Slavery, by holding over that tremendous sin and scourge, the shield of the Constitution, and thus breaking down, in the eyes of the nation, the barrier between right and wrong; by so tenderly cherishing Slavery as, in less than the life of man, to multiply her children from half a million to nearly three millions; by exacting oaths from those who occupy prominent stations in society, that they will violate at once the rights of man and the law of God: by substituting itself as a rule of right, in place of the moral laws of the universe; thus, in effect, dethroning the Almighty in the hearts of this people, and setting up another sovereign in his stead—more than outweigh it all. A melancholy and monitory lesson, this, to all time-serving and temporising statesmen! A striking illustration of the *impolicy* of sacrificing *right* to any considerations of expediency! Yet, what better than the evil effects which we have seen, could the authors of the Constitution have reasonably expected, from the sacrifice of right, in the concessions they made to Slavery? Was it reasonable in them to expect that after they had introduced a vicious element into the very constitution of the body politic which they were then calling into life, it would not exert its vicious energies? Was it reasonable in them to expect that, after Slavery had been corrupting the public morals for a whole generation, their children would have too much virtue to *use* for the defence of Slavery, a power which they themselves had not too much virtue to *give*? It is dangerous for the sovereign power of a State to license immorality; to hold the shield of its protection over anything that is not "legal in a moral view." Bring into your house a benumbed viper, and lay it down upon your warm hearth, and soon it will not ask you into which room it may crawl. Let Slavery once lean upon the supporting arm, and bask in the fostering smile of the State, and you will soon see, as we now see, both her minions and her victims multiply apace, till the politics, the morals, the liberties, even the religion of the nation, are brought completely under her control.

To me, it appears that the virus of Slavery, introduced into the Constitution of our body politic, by a few slight punctures, has now so pervaded and poisoned the whole system of our National Government, that literally, there is no health in it. The only remedy that I can see for the disease, is to be found in the *dissolution of the patient*.

The Constitution of the United States, both in theory and practice, is so utterly broken down by the influence and effects of Slavery, so imbecile for the highest good of the nation, and so powerful for evil, that I can give no voluntary assistance in holding it up any longer.

Henceforth, it is dead to me, and I to it. I withdraw all profession of allegiance to it, and all my voluntary efforts to sustain it. The burdens that it lays upon me, while it is held up by others, I shall endeavor to bear patiently, yet acting with reference to a higher law, and distinctly declaring, that while I retain my own liberty, I will be a party to no compact, which helps to rob any other man of his.

Very respectfully,
Your friend,
FRANCIS JACKSON.

* Henry Clay's speech in the United States Senate, in 1839, and confirmed at Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1844.

† Madison Papers, p. 1589.

† See his Report on the Massachusetts Resolutions.

From the Correspondence of the New-York Tribune.

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

West India Emancipation, at Concord, Mass. 1844.

Though the morning of the celebration was rainy, and the weather foul till the time of meeting, a very respectable and numerous audience assembled. The motto of the hall, over the speaker's desk, was "West India Emancipation, 'August 1st, 1834.'" After prayer by Rev. Mr. May, and a hymn, together with music by a band, the Orator of the day, R. W. EMERSON, addressed the meeting. "We are here," said he, "to exchange congratulations of an event which makes an era in the history of civilization: a day of reason; the clear light; that which makes us better than a flock of birds or beasts, a day which gave the immense fortification of a fact of gross history, to ethical abstractions. It was the settlement of a question on which every great man has taken care to record his vote, one which for many years absorbed the attention of the wisest and the most eminent of mankind. This cause does not suffer by any man's weakness, and whether by the wisdom of the defenders or by the folly of the opponents; by speech and by silence; by doing and by omitting to do, this cause goes forward. In this cause we must renounce our temper, and the risings of pride. The history of the world interests us only as it exhibits a steady progress and amelioration in the incessant conflict which it records of the material and the moral nature. From the earliest monuments it appears that one race was victim and served the other races. In the oldest temples of Egypt, negro captives are carved and painted on the tombs of Kings, in such attitudes as to show that they are on the point of being executed. From the earliest time the negro has been an article of luxury. So has it been down to the day which has just dawned upon the world." He then spoke of the gentle and generous nature of the African, and drew a most graphic picture of the infernal cruelties practised upon this race, itself naturally so humane, and proceeded: "But the course of human affairs must go onward to its melioration, in spite of whips and plantation laws, and West Indian interest. Conscience rolled on its pillow, and could not sleep. We sympathize here very tenderly with the poor aggrieved planter, of whom so many unpleasant things are said; but if we saw the whip applied to old men, to tender women, and undeniably, though I shrink to say so,—and frequently women set in the treadmill for refusing to work, when, not they, but the eternal law of animal nature refused to work; if we saw the runaways hunted with bloodhounds into swamps and hills, and in cases of rage, a planter throwing his negro into a copper of boiling cane-juice,—if we saw these things with eyes, we should wince. They are not pleasant sights. The blood is moral; the blood is Anti-Slavery: it runs cold in the veins: the stomach rises with disgust, and curses Slavery. It became plain to all seeing men, the more this business was looked into, that the crimes and cruelties of slavery could not be over-stated." He then succinctly showed the rise, and traced the progress of British West India Emancipation, down to the final apprenticeship act, and said: "The reception of it, by the negro population was equal in nobleness to the deed. The negroes were called together by the missionaries and by planters, and the news explained to them. On the night of the 31st of July, they met everywhere at their churches and chapels, and at midnight, when the clock struck twelve, on their knees the silent weeping assembly became men. I have never seen anything in history more touching than the moderation of the negroes." In proceeding to remark upon the cruelty of the planters, after the apprenticeship act, he said that Slavery was not merely founded upon avarice, "besides the covetousness, there is a bitterer element, the love of power, the voluptuousness of having a human being in absolute control." He continued with the history of emancipation, down to the absolute Emancipation act on the 1st of August, 1838, and quoted the remark of Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamaica: "It is impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude, which the whole laboring population manifested on that happy occasion. Though joy beamed on every countenance, it was throughout tempered with solemn thankfulness to God; and the churches and chapels were everywhere filled with these happy people, in humble offering of praise." Mr. E. then went on to speak of civilization generally, and said: "We peddle, we truck, we sail, we row, we ride in cars, we creep in teams, we go on canals, *to market*, and for the sale of goods. The customer is the immediate jewel of our souls; him we flatter, him we feast, compliment, vote for, and will not contradict. Well, it was, or seemed, the dictate of trade to keep the negro down. By the aid of a little whipping, we could get their work for nothing but their board and the cost of whips."

Mr. E. showed that negro labor was destructive, if cheap; he dwelt upon the noble efforts of England in behalf of emancipation, and the inconceivable supineness of our Representatives, who permit colored citizens of this Commonwealth to be imprisoned in Southern ports, without raising an arm in their defence, and then turned particularly to the occasion before him. He esteemed this abolition movement as a great step of civilization, a new civility to which we have attained. It had opened the way to all manner of clear discussion upon all interesting points, and had demonstrated that a reliance upon "political agents," could no longer be maintained. "If the black man," said he, "is feeble and not important to the existing race, not on a par with the best race, the black man must serve, and be sold, and exterminated. But if the black man carries in his bosom an indispensable element of a new and coming civilization, for the sake of that element no wrong, nor circumstance can hurt him; he will survive and play his part. So now it seems to me that the arrival in the world of such men as Toussaint and the Haytien heroes, or of the leaders and their race in Barbadoes and Jamaica, outweighs, in good omen, all the English and American humanity." "The civility of no race can be perfect while another is degraded." In conclusion, the orator said: "The glories of the Saxon race are friendly to Liberty; the enterprise, the very muscular vigor of this nation, is inconsistent with Slavery. The great intellect with blazing eye, looking through history from the beginning onward, gazes on this blot, and it disappears like a morning cloud. The sentiment of Right, once very low and indistinct, but ever more articulate, because it is the voice of the Universe, pronounces Freedom. The power that built this fabric of things affirms it in the heart, and in the history of the First of August has made a sign to the ages of His will."

After the oration was over, another song and music by the band, the company adjourned to the hall of the Court-house, in which building the meeting was held, and partook of a collation, tastefully arranged by the fair hands of the Concord ladies. Having done justice to their highly social repast, they again took their seats, and listened to eloquent speeches from Messrs. WHITE, DOUGLAS, MAY, and others who were present. And thus the anniversary of a noble and imperishable fact, was happily and profitably celebrated. Yours, W. E. C.

Communications.

REPORT OF THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

(Continued.)

MR. PHILLIPS.—Mr. Pierpont's argument I understand to be this—a promise to do an immoral act is not binding: (so far we shall all agree with him,) therefore he thinks that an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, does not bind him to support any provisions of that instrument which are repugnant to his ideas of right. And he contends that he, an Abolitionist, thinking it wrong to return slaves, may, as an office-holder, innocently and properly take an oath to support a Constitution which commands such return; and further, as all men are bound to know what is right and what wrong, he is not called upon at the time of taking such oath, to enter into any explanations with those before whom he is swearing, of how far he means to keep it, or to make any protest against the bad clauses of the Constitution.

I wish the audience to observe that my friend allows the Constitution to be pro-slavery, and admits that there are clauses in it which no Abolitionist ought to carry out or support.

And observe, further that we all agree, that a bad promise is better broken than kept—that every Abolitionist who has before now taken the oath to the Constitution is bound to break it, and disobey the pro-slavery clauses of that instrument. So far there is no difference between us. But the point in dispute now is, whether a man, having found out that certain requisitions of the Constitution are wrong, can, after that, innocently swear to support and obey them, all the while meaning not to do so. Mr. Pierpont thinks he can.

Now I contend that such loose construction of our promises is contrary alike to honor, to fair-dealing, and to truthfulness—that it tends to destroy utterly that confidence between man and man which binds society together, and leads, in matters of Government, to absolute tyranny. Of course, it is unnecessary for me to say that I do not suppose my friend intends all this.

The Constitution, says Mr. Pierpont, is a series of contracts, made by each individual with every other of the fourteen million.. Now a man's oath is evidence of his assent to this contract. If I offer a man the copy of an agreement, and he, after reading, swears to perform it, have I not a right to infer from his oath that he assents to the *rightfulness* of the articles of that paper? What more solemn form of expressing his assent could he select? A man's oath expresses his conviction of the rightfulness of the actions he promises to do, as well as his determination to do them. If this be not so, I can have no trust in any man's word. He may take my money, promise to do what I wish in return, and yet, keeping my money, tell me, on the morrow, that he shall not keep his promise, and never meant to, because the act, his conscience tells him, is wrong. Why did he not tell me so at the time? Oh, he is not bound to do that, since I am bound to know what is right and what wrong, and ought to have understood his promise with that exception! Who would trust property to such men, or such maxims in the common affairs of life? Shall we not be as honest in the Senate House as on 'Change? The North makes a contract with the South by which she receives certain benefits, and agrees to render certain services. The benefits she carefully keeps—but the services she refuses to render, because immoral contracts are not binding! And this my friend thinks fair dealing. It is the rule alike of law and common sense, that if we are not able, from *any cause*, to furnish the article we have agreed to, we ought to return the pay we have received. If power is put into our hands on certain conditions, and we find ourselves unable to comply with those conditions, we ought to surrender the power back to those who gave it.

But, says Mr. Pierpont, "I swear to support the Constitution" as I understand it, and I think these clauses inconsistent with others in the same paper, and therefore void.

Will any one in this audience take the title deed of his house and carry it to the man he bought of, and let him keep the covenants of that paper as he says "he understands them?" Do we not all recognize the justice of having some third disinterested party to judge between two disputants about the meaning of contracts? Who ever heard of a contract of which each party was at liberty to keep as much as he thought proper?

As in all other contracts, so in that of the Constitution, there is a power provided to affix the proper construction to the instrument, and that construction both parties are bound to abide by, or repudiate the *whole* contract. That power is the Supreme Court of the United States.

Do we seek the common sense, practical view of this question? Go to the Exchange and ask any broker how many dollars he will trust any man with who avows his right to make promises with the design, at the time, of breaking some parts, and not feeling called upon to state which those parts will be?

Do you seek the moral view of the point, which philosophers have taken? Paley says, "A promise is binding in that sense in which the promiser thought at the time of making that the other party understood it." Is there any doubt what meaning the great body of the American people attach to the Constitution and the official oath?

But say some, our lives are notice to the whole people what meaning we attach to the oath, and we will protest when we swear, that we do not include in our oath the pro-slavery clauses. Mr. Pierpont is too sound a lawyer to make this point, for he knows that no such protest is possible. But for others' sake I wish to state why I think that no such protest can be of any avail. The Chief Justice stands up to administer to me the oath of some office, no matter which. "Sir," say I, "I must take that oath with a qualification, excluding certain clauses." His reply will be, "Sir, I have no discretion in this matter. I am here merely to administer a prescribed form of oath. If you assent to it, you are qualified for your station. If you do not, you cannot enter. I have no authority given me to listen to exceptions. I am a servant—the people are my masters—here is what they require that you support, not this or that part the Constitution, but '*the Constitution*,' that is, the *whole*."

Baffled here, I turn to the people. I publish my opinions in newspapers. I proclaim them at conventions, I spread them through the country on the wings of a thousand presses. Does this avail me? Yes, says Liberty party, if after this, men choose to vote for you it is evident they mean you shall take the oath as you have given notice that you understand it.

Well, the voters in Boston, with this understanding, elect me to Congress, and I proceed to Washington. But here arises a difficulty,—my constituents at home have assented—but when I get to Congress, I find I am not the representative of Boston only, but of the whole country. The interests of Carolina are committed to my hands as well as those of Massachusetts; I find that the contract I made by my oath was not with Boston, but with the whole nation. It is the nation that gives me the power to declare war and make peace—to lay taxes on cotton, and control the commerce of New Orleans. The nation prescribed the conditions in 1789, when the Constitution was settled, and though Boston may be willing to accept me on other terms, Carolina is not willing—Boston has accepted my protest, and says "Take office." Carolina says, "The oath you swear is sworn to me as well as to the rest—I demand the whole bond." In other words, when I have made my protest, what evidence is there that *the nation*, the other party to the contract, assents to it? There can be none until that nation amends its Constitution.—Massachusetts when she accepted that Constitution, bound herself to send only such men as could swear to return slaves. If, by an underhand compromise with some of her citizens, she sends persons of other sentiments, she is perjured, and any one who goes on such an errand is a partner in the perjury. Massachusetts has no right to assent to my protest—she has no right to send representatives, except on certain conditions. She cannot vary those conditions, without leave from those whose interests are to be affected by the change, that is, the whole nation—Those conditions are written down in the Constitution. Do she and South Carolina differ, as to the meaning? The Court will decide for them. But says Mr. Pierpont, do you mean to say that I swear to support the Constitution, not as I understand it, but as some Judge understands it? Yes, I do—otherwise there is no such thing as law.

This right of private judgment, for which he contends, exists in religion—but not in Government.—Law is a rule *prescribed*. The party prescribing must have the right to construe his own rule, otherwise there would be as many laws as there are individual consciences. Statutes would be but recommendations if every man was at liberty to understand and obey them as he thought proper. But I need not argue this. The absurdity of a Government that has no right to govern—and of laws which have no fixed meaning—but which each man construes to mean what he pleases and obeys accordingly—must be evident to every one.

What more power did the most despotic of the English Stuarts ask, than the right, after having sworn to laws, to break such as their consciences disapproved? It is the essence of tyranny.

What is the Constitution of the United States? In good old fashioned times we thought we knew, when we had read it and listened to the court's exposition. But we have improved upon that. Mr. Pierpont says, it is for him "what he understands it." John C. Calhoun, of course, has the same right, and instead of "Liberty regulated by law," we have liberty regulated by fourteen millions of "understandings."

Mr. Pierpont takes office on certain conditions, which conditions are not binding upon him. He gives us notice that he shall use the power as he thinks right, without any regard to these conditions of his oath. Well, if this is law, it is good for all. John C. Calhoun can of course take office with the same broad liberty, and swear to support the Constitution "as he understands it." He has told us often what that "understanding" is—"to sustain Slavery." Of course having made this public, if, after that, Carolina sends him, according to Liberty party logic, it is evidence that Massachusetts assents to his "understanding," and accepts his oath with that meaning. Why I thought I had fathomed the pro-slavery depths of the Constitution when I read over all its

wicked clauses—but that is skimming only the surface, if the Constitution allows every man to whom it commits power to use it as he chooses to "understand" the conditions, and not as the nation understands them. If with this right, Abolitionists may take office and help Liberty we must remember, that by the same rule, slaveholders may take office and lawfully use all their power to help Slavery. If this be so, how absurd to keep crying out of this and the other thing, "it is unconstitutional"—when there is no Constitution but that which each man makes for himself.

Away with such logic! If we have a Constitution, let us remember Jefferson's advice, and not make it "waste paper by construction." The man who tampers thus with the sacred obligation of an oath,—swears, and Jesuit like, keeps "reserved meanings" in his own breast,—does more harm to society by loosening the foundations of morals, than he would do good, did his one falsehood free every slave from the Potomac to the Del Norte.

But, says Mr. Pierpont—"The oath does not mean that I will positively do what I swear to do, but only that I will do it, *or submit* to the penalty the law awards. If my actions in office don't suit the nation, let them impeach me."

That is, John Tyler may, without consulting Congress, plunge us into war with Mexico—incur fifty millions of public debt—lose a hundred thousand lives—and the *sufficient recompense* to this nation will be to impeach John Tyler, Esq. and send him home to his slaves! These are the wise safeguards of Constitutional liberty! And mark, according to my friend's logic, President Tyler, when he has done all this, if his mind is twisted enough to *think* it his duty, has not violated his oath of office! He has faithfully kept it "as he understands it." It is all right. What is a Russian slave? One who holds life, property, and all, at the mercy of the Czar's idea of right. Does not Pierpont's description of the power every officer has here, under our Constitution, reduce Americans to the same condition?

But, is it true that the bearing of the penalty is an excuse for breach of our official oaths?

The Judge who, in questions of divorce, has trifled with the sanctity of the marriage tie—who, in matters of property has decided unjustly, and taken bribes—in capital cases has so dealt judgment as to send innocent men to the gallows—may cry out, "If you don't like me, impeach me." But will impeachment restore the dead to life, or the husband to his defamed wife? Would the community consider his submission to impeachment as equivalent to the keeping of his oath of office, and thenceforward view him as an honest, truth-speaking, unperjured man? It is idle to suppose so. Yet the interests committed to some of our officeholders' keeping, are more important often than even those which a Judge controls. And we must remember that men's ideas of right always differ. To admit such a principle into the construction of oaths, if it enable my friend Pierpont to do much good, will enable scoundrels who creep into office to do much harm, "according to *their* consciences." But yet the rule, if it be admitted, must be universal. Liberty becomes, then, matter of accident.

Mr. Phillips went on to speak of the inapplicability of Blackstone's principle of laws "void because immoral," to the case in hand,—to affirm that what we have no right to do, we have no right to swear to do—and finally, to argue that no matter what be the specific clauses of the written Constitution, if we look at the slaves in the light of moneyed capital alone—a thousand million of dollars—we shall see that the holders of so much property, united by a community of interests, and interests, from the peculiar nature of that property, adverse to those of the rest of the nation, must ever be a controlling class in political affairs. Associated wealth is almost irresistible. But when, as at the present day, the holders of this property are still more closely bound together by the crisis in which they stand, and by the union of the world against them, denying their title to their victims—and strengthened beside by the gift of political power in the slave basis of representation under our Constitution, is it wonderful that in a Republic, always broken into two nearly equal parties, such a class should hold the balance of power, and control the nation? Hence, it is always impossible to form a union between free and slaveholding States, without letting the united Government fall into the hands of the Slaveholders, as has been the case in this country since 1787. In such a Government, consistent Abolitionists can find no place.

Mr. Hildreth.—It appears to me that the gentlemen who have considered this subject, have all fallen into a mistake; and in order to rectify such mistakes, it is necessary to go back to first principles.

It has been taken for granted that I enter into a contract when I take the oath to the Constitution;—that I create the instrument anew: but this is not so. It was made long ago, and is not a contract between me and others. It is fifty years since it was made; and when I take the oath, all I swear to is, that so far as depends on me, I will faithfully support it, so far as concerns the duties which my especial office creates.

The first question then, with me, is, what are the obligations that the Constitution imposes, and what are the rights that it creates; and I stand up before it as a judge, not as a party to a contract, to determine its meaning according to my conscience. If a man comes to me and tells me that he has a right, under the Constitution, to certain services from me, it becomes me to consider whether or not I have the right to give them. If they consist in offences against morality, no instrument can give him such a right. When two parties come before a judge with such a contract, is it not his duty to say that no such obligation can exist? It cannot be there legally, and I, as a judge of the instrument, am bound so to interpret it.

The gentleman who preceded me says this idea affords complete opportunities to tyranny. But, Sir, he forgets that no officer can carry his interpretation into execution by his own sole force. If the people are not with him, it necessarily falls to the ground. This very gentleman sets up a more terrible tyrrany still in the decisions of the Supreme Court. I know that it is the old Federal doctrine to make the Constitution depend on the Supreme Court; but I do not adhere to it. The Democrats, on the contrary, said that its interpreter must be public sentiment; and I maintain it as the only true political doctrine, that the Constitution depends for its interpretation on the majority of the people. The Supreme Court has its rights,—it may, for instance, send me to jail; but I still have the right to appeal from court to court, and from year to year. Twenty of the decisions of the Supreme Court have been overruled, and twenty more may be. There, for example, was the Dartmouth College case; which would not be decided now, as it then was. And so of the various slave cases, in which the judges have not, even heretofore, been agreed.

I pass to another point. Gentlemen are altogether mistaken in supposing that I endorse all the clauses of the Constitution by my oath of support. That is their idea, but it is not the true one. I have sworn to support the Constitution of Massachusetts; but does that bind me to obey every law that may be made under that Constitution? I do not hold myself bound by my oath to obey the laws against travelling on Sunday. Will any say that I am a perjured man, and ought to be punished as such, for attending a Saturday night concert? Or, suppose an apprentice, suffering under cruel treatment, runs away, and I shelter that boy: am I guilty of perjury in the act? All that is expected of me by the State of Massachusetts, in consequence of my oath to the Constitution, is, that I will not aid in overturning it by force. I still reserve my right of claiming the benefit of all changes, and of opposing a passive resistance to all wrongs.

The idea of being bound by every clause of the Constitution, is evidently absurd; and this question can never be settled on true grounds, till the true limitations of the obligations which a man contracts on taking office, are defined and understood.

Mr. Burleigh.—Time will permit me but a brief glance at the remarks of the friend who has just spoken. It is a mistake, he says, that the Constitution is a contract; but then he admitted that there were things which, in consequence of his taking the oath to sustain it, the State might expect him to perform. He enters into no contract, it seems, but only contracts. He makes no bargain, but only bargains! It is a nice distinction! As to who is the proper umpire between himself and the other parties to the agreement, when a question arises as to the extent of the obligations he has assumed, it matters nothing to the argument. The question is of his moral right to take oath to perform anything which he does not mean to perform. The slaveholder cares not whether he acknowledges the Supreme Court as the expositor of the Constitution or not, but whether or not he is trying to get away from the support of Slavery. I do not say that an oath to the Constitution is a promise to obey every statute that shall be made *under* it: but I do say, that an oath to support a written Constitution, is an oath to support every provision of it—or it is legally nothing. I care not how custom or usage may have relaxed public morals;—if the man who swears to support the Constitution does see in it illegal provisions, he has no moral right to take the oath; and this friend, if he does so, and then denies the obligation merely because the public morals have become so relaxed by such teachings as his, that he can do it, does violate his oath, and place himself in the position of dissolving the strongest tie of human society, without being able, thereby, to preserve that of political union.

My friend Pierpont was much afraid of men's destroying their efficiency. He said we must not jump out of the scale of Liberty. I reply that he is entirely mistaken in supposing his illustration applicable to his purpose. On the contrary, it makes against him. He—the Liberty party—whoever, in short, takes the oath to the Constitution, is in the political scale with Slavery, and lending his weight to make that of Liberty "kick the beam." It seems as though those gentlemen thought that the nearer they got to the pivot of the steelyards, the heavier they should weigh. (A laugh, and applause.) If you make a bargain to murder, I know it does not bind you; *but will you make it?* One half the bargain is to burn and murder, and the other half to farm and harvest. One of the speakers has argued for swearing to such a whole. I do not want his teachings of legal morality to shape the policy of the country I am to live in. What is our oath? It is a *declaration* that we believe the whole to be right. It is an appeal to the Supreme Judge of the Universe to witness our sincerity.

My friend Pierpont even says there is no *need* of a protest against the wrongful part of the instrument, for people may be presumed to know there is no credit to be attached to oaths of this sort. But history, our own history in particular, proves that people do not know as much on this head as my friend has asserted. He also says, if there were any such need, the Liberty party have given their protest. They always take the oath, declaring it at the same time null and void. There is one objection to this mode of doing business: the protest cannot be widely enough circulated to become available. But if it could, it would not touch the matter at all. Though I am put in office only by a part, yet I am put there to take care of the whole. Suppose your reservations to be clearly understood by your own constituents. Suppose they acknowledge it to be a fair bargain between you and them that you should take the oath to the Constitution, and overlook a part of it in practice. Others besides them are concerned, and your breach of contract comes upon the inhabitants of New Orleans exactly as if you had never protested. As to the alternative of impeachment, I submit that it is no sufficient remedy.

LETTER FROM LAURA HOSMER.

Bedford, August 4th, 1844.

I have been requested by one of the Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of the 1st of August, at Concord, Massachusetts, to write you an account of that celebration. It is a task which I have undertaken very reluctantly, not because I am not willing and happy to perform it, if I could do it properly, but because I feel wholly incompetent. However, I will do my best, and none can do more. This celebration met with considerable opposition among the "*liberty-loving*" people of Concord. I take it for granted they are a liberty-loving people, for they have erected on their old battle-ground, a monument with this inscription: "*In gratitude to God, and in the love of Freedom, this monument was erected.*" There is one kind of liberty which I know some of them love—that is the liberty to abuse Abolitionists; and I for one am willing they should enjoy the blessed privilege, if it does them any good, for I am sure it does us no harm. They can be very unaccommodating, to be sure, and so they were; for although the orator of the day was one of their most highly-respected citizens, he, and his audience, were refused admittance to any of their churches; and one of their honorable Esquires said, if he had the control of all the land in Middlesex county, the Abolitionists should not have one inch of ground whereon to celebrate the day. The morning of the 1st rose dark and stormy; and although they had made previous calculations to have the celebration out-of-doors, it was thought best to remove to the Court-house; accordingly, the tables were spread in the entrance-hall. They were bountifully laden with good things, and beautifully decorated with flowers. The people assembled in the court-room, which was well filled. At eleven o'clock the services commenced. A brief, heartfelt prayer, by Samuel J. May, was followed by an appropriate song, and music from the band, after which, Dr. Farnsworth introduced Ralph Waldo Emerson to the audience. Mr. Emerson then delivered just such an address as might be expected from a man of his talents, who has taken the high moral stand which he has taken. He spoke for two hours and a half; yet he so completely absorbed my attention, that it seemed scarcely more than an hour. The whole audience gave the most undivided attention, and were apparently forgetful of time, and everything but what the speaker was saying. When he had finished, it was announced that a collation was prepared in the rooms beneath, and the meeting adjourned for one hour. The people descended to the hall, and gathered around the tables, and like a happy band of brothers and sisters, we partook of the many nice things before us. After the repast was ended, we returned to the court-room, and were again gratified by listening to a song. We were then addressed by William A. White, Frederic Douglas, S. J. May, Moses Grandy, and Cyrus Pierce. I shall not attempt to detail any of the addresses, for I could not do them justice. It is sufficient to say they were all appropriate to the time and occasion, and such as will make a good impression on the minds and hearts of all those who listened to them with a desire to know and understand the truth. A number of songs were sung in the course of the afternoon, with good effect, but one was particularly touching: it was sung after Frederic Douglas had done speaking. He had spoken with the deep feeling which a man of his strong mind, who had felt all the dread horrors of Slavery, must have on such an occasion; he rejoiced with a joy that was truly unspeakable, over the resurrection of so many thousands from that living grave in which they had lain buried for so many long, dreary years; he told of the unutterable joy which must have been felt by those poor bondmen, when they received the boon of liberty—a joy which, he said, could only be conceived of by those who had, like himself, suffered as they had suffered—a joy which might be felt, but never could be told; and, said he, "I rejoice with them, I *rejoice* with them, I REJOICE with them." As he uttered these words, his every look and gesture showed how utterly inadequate language was to express the intensity of his feeling; his whole frame quivered with emotion, as he stood silent for a moment. "But," said he, "while I rejoice with them, my thoughts *will* revert to my own country, and to the millions who are here suffering miseries from which *they* are now delivered." He then depicted the state of things in our country, in language which I cannot remember to repeat, and with a power which I cannot imitate. When he had done speaking, the house was as silent as if there were not a living being in it. This silence was at length broken by the voices of three ladies, who in soft, silvery tones, sang "The Flying Slave." It was sung softly, and sweetly, and after what we had just heard, must have touched the hearts of all who heard it. It was good for us to be there, for feelings were stirred which too often lie dormant in the human heart. The whole day was spent in a manner which could not fail to improve all present. Everything was conducted just as it should be, and nothing happened which could in any way disturb the feelings of those most deeply interested. The day closed more pleasantly than it opened. At about six o'clock the people separated with smiling faces, and happy hearts, and I trust, with feelings of gratitude to Him who had so richly blest us through the day.

O may the glorious time soon arrive when we shall not only rejoice over West Indian Emancipation, but when all the sorrowing ones in our own country, may raise their heads, long bent low beneath the yoke of the oppressor, and join the general rejoicing; when the anthems of joy which ascend from the Indian isles, shall be re-echoed from every hill and plain in our own loved land, and rise in one united chorus of thanksgiving to Him who made us free.

I am, Sir, yours in behalf of Freedom,
LAURA HOSMER.

ABOLITION.—SUPPORT OF HENRY CLAY.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

To D. L. Child.—Respected Friend,—A few readers of the Standard in this region, who also profess friendship for our principles, have intimated a prospect of voting for Clay, and the principal reason given, is, that the Standard *has been* a very judicious paper, and that its late editor evidently means to vote for Clay, and that if *he can*, with his superior opportunities of viewing the whole question, *they can* vote for him. I think, myself, the Standard has given evidence sufficient to lead to such a conclusion, and as the truth upon the point is important, I respectfully request thee to inform thy numerous friends of the facts in the case, through either the Standard or Freeman. Truly thy friend,

J. FULTON, Jr.

ANSWER OF D. L. CHILD.

To James Fulton, Jr.—Dear Sir:—I consider the Annexation of Texas the most important Anti-Slavery question which is, or can be agitated at this time. The champions of Slavery, the acknowledged representatives of slave interests and opinions, have declared, again and again, in public and in private, in speeches, resolutions, editorials, toasts, and official documents, that this measure is vital to the existence of Slavery—so vital that they will have it, with or *without the Union*. They do not overrate its importance.

Distinguished Southerners of all parties have admitted, without a dissenting voice, that Slavery must come to a speedy end in the old slave States, and would, in fact, have come to an end long ago, were it not for the *American slave-trade*. Mr. Wise, in his report at the late session of Congress, in favor of continuing the gag-rule, lays down this proposition as unquestionable, that to prohibit the American slave-trade would be equivalent to the Abolition of Slavery. The results of the last census show, that during the ten years, from 1830 to 1843, 321,063 slaves were transferred from the slave-raising, to the slave-consuming States, and that *sixteen thousand* were *used up*, i. e. brought to premature death, by overtasking, underfeeding, cruel punishments, and sudden violence. This is more than half the number slain at the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, at the name of which, the world still shudders.

The value of the slaves thus transferred, chiefly by means of the American slave-trade, estimated at the price of the market whence they are carried, is $160,531,500, exceeding by $130,531,500 the total value of all the slaves obtained by all nations, during the same period, from Africa. If the comparatively small sum of thirty millions could tempt the African chiefs and kidnappers to perpetrate the enormities which make that continent a bed of torture to its children, to what excesses may not a hundred and sixty millions impel Christian slave-masters and traders—

"A race more polished, more severe than they."

The foregoing results are based upon the actual number of the slaves in 1840, without taking into account what that number ought to have been. It is obvious that there ought to have been a proportional increase of slaves, *equal*, at least, to that of the whites, because it is a common, and I will say, an impudent boast of many of the slaveholders, that the absence of all care and anxiety about providing for the future, is a compensation for the loss of liberty! This is the happiness of swine. To a certain extent it probably exists, and, if there were no counteracting causes, it would tell upon the rate of increase. That rate, however, with the slaves, has been a little short of *twenty-five per cent.* in the last ten years, while, with the whites, it has been almost *thirty-five*. The difference is fully *ten per cent.* making the increase of the slaves, during that period, 199,354 less than it should have been, according to the ratio of the increase of whites. *But the slaves ought to increase faster than the whites*, because the extraordinary stimulus applied in the slave-raising States to the production of them for the market, causes a larger proportion of slave *children* to come into the world, than there is of white. Thus the two last censuses, the only ones which have classed the slaves "under ten," show a proportional excess of this class over the corresponding white one, of *two per cent.* in ten years. If this excess continued, as it should, through all the subsequent classes of slaves, they would have increased, from 1830 to 1840, more by 39,870 than they would have done by the white ratio. The whole lack of just increase of the slaves during the ten years preceding the last census, was therefore no less than 239,224. The extinguishment of the reproductive power, especially under circumstances which should give it extraordinary activity and scope, is as positive and conclusive evidence of the destructive effects of Slavery, and of the American slave-trade, as the immolation of those who actually come into being. This is the view of the subject under its physical aspect. But what a mass of guilt and wo is concealed from human ken, under this superficies; what heavy wrongs done and suffered by man; how many generations heart-broken!

There are constant accessions to the number of our slaves by illicit importations from the island of Cuba or the coast of Africa. There is abundant evidence that these accessions are considerable. How can it be otherwise, when a slave in that island, is worth, as a general thing, only *half*, and on the coast of Africa, only a *twenty-fifth* as much as in the United States? I have estimated the value of a slave on the coast at $20, a high price for that quarter, and probably never given, except in case of haste to complete a cargo. The ordinary price is a *musket*, and sometimes a *gallon of New England rum*. Of all merchandise, men are the most convenient to smuggle,—they may be quickly unladen by boats on a desert coast; and they transport themselves without roads. They are also unladen at sea into some light craft, which runs up the rivers by night and descending by day, disposes of them as if they were brought down from Kentucky, Tennessee, or the interior of an Atlantic State. The increase from this source, and consequently the increased expenditure of life, which it would show, cannot be ascertained.

If the American slave-trade should cease, slavery would speedily be abolished in all the slave raising, *i. e.* in the farming slave States. This is so invariably admitted by Southern men, that I shall not present the abundant proof thereof, which is at hand. Mr. Clay, in an address delivered before the Colonization Society of Kentucky, in 1820, said:—

"Farming agriculture cannot sustain it, [the price of slaves,] for it is believed that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States, could slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern markets, which keeps it up in his own."

Thomas J. Randolph, a grandson of Jefferson, said in the Virginia House of Delegates, in 1832:—

"It is a practice, and an increasing practice, in parts of Virginia, *to rear slaves for the market*. How can an honorable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient dominion converted into one grand menagerie * * * * where men are to be reared for the market like oxen for the shambles. Is it better, is it not worse, than the slave-trade, that trade which enlisted the good and wise of every creed, and every clime to abolish it? * * * * In my opinion, Sir, it is much worse."

In 1832, Mr. *Harrison*, of Virginia, said: *

"We state it as the result of extensive inquiries, embracing the last fifteen years, that a great proportion of the plantations, with from fifty to one hundred slaves, actually bring their proprietors in debt at the end of a short term of years, notwithstanding what would once have been deemed in Virginia very sheer economy."

"Tobacco was the only article, which would by possibility justify the expense of slave labor in Virginia; and now we see the wiser planters are to a great degree withdrawing their lands from it."

"We will now let the reader into the secret of slaveholding economy. The only form in which it can safely be said that slaves on a plantation are profitable in *Virginia*, is in the multiplication of their numbers by births." "The process of multiplication will not in this way, [that of farming labor,] advance the master towards the point of a net revenue. He is not richer in income with fifty slaves than with twenty. Yet these young negroes have their value; and what value? The value of slaves is the certain price for which they will at any time sell to the Southern trader." "That master alone finds productive value in the increase of his slaves, who chooses to turn them at regular intervals into money at the highest market price."

"If all these sales were the result of the necessity of the masters, while it must forever be lamented, it would at the same time be the most portentous proof of the financial ruin of the planters of the State. But if otherwise, but a common course of business, regularly gone into for profit, what volumes does it speak of the degradation to which Slavery may reduce its supporters! and will 'the aspiring blood of Lancaster' endure it to be said that a *Guinea* is still to be found in America, and that Guinea is Virginia? That children are reared with the express object of sale into distant regions, and that in numbers but little less than the whole number of annual births? It may be that there is a small section of Virginia, (perhaps we could indicate it,) where the theory of population is studied with reference to the yearly income from the sale of slaves."

I suppose the writer to allude here to the *Old Eastern Shore*, a part of the district which has given us *Tyler, Upsher, and Wise*.

"Mr. Marshall has told us that by the census of 1830, the number of slaves in Eastern Virginia under *ten years of age*, exceeds that of whites of the same age more than 31,000."

I remark here that the *whole* white population of Eastern Virginia is nearly equal to the whole slave population of the same district.

Mr. Harrison continues:

"*Shut up all outlet into the Southern and Southwestern States, and the price of slaves in Virginia would sink down to a cypher.*"

On this point Mr. Clay also, four years earlier, said:

"That adult slaves will in process of time sink in value even below a hundred dollars each, I have not a doubt. This result may not be brought about by the termination of the first period of their reduplication, but that it will come, at some subsequent and not distant period, I think perfectly clear."

By the successive acquisitions of Louisiana, Florida, and the Indian reservations, and by the prohibition of the foreign slave-trade, a prodigious impulse was given to the American slave-trade. It is no wonder therefore that the highly penal statutes against the foreign slave-trade, which a Virginian has told us is less inhuman and demoralizing, have all originated with Virginia. The value of an American slave as estimated by Mr. Clay in 1839, was thirty-three times as great as the estimate made in Congress in 1790, on the occasion of the presentationof the first petition on the subject of Slavery. No other species of property of vast extent, has ever been enhanced at such a rate in this country, or perhaps in the world. This has been wholly the result of the action of the Government. At the instance of the American slave-raiser, Congress gave him a monopoly, guarding it by the highest sanctions known to the law. At the instance of the cotton-grower, a high protective duty was laid on cotton in the first revenue law, which was the second act passed under the present Constitution; and that act has remained ever since, except when it was reduced under the compromise act, whereupon several of the Southern presses, with the tacit acquiescence of the whole South, called louldly for its restoration. The vast acquisitions of territory made at the common expense, have redounded chiefly to the advantage of the slave interest.—Several of them were made upon the demand of slaveholders, and avowedly for their benefit. As to Louisiana, I shall let Mr. Clay speak. Having been cotemporary with the transaction, and even then a conspicuous and influential man, and having always been in a position to observe the movement of the slave market, his statements are invested with the highest authority. In the discourse already referred to, he says:

"Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about $100,—a price less than the cost of raising an infant."

"After the United States abolished the slave-trade, the price of adults rose very considerably."

"What has tended to sustain the price of slaves in the United States, has been that very fact of the acquisition of Louisiana, but especially the increasing demand for cotton. The price of cotton, a much more extensive object of culture than the sugar-cane, regulates the price of slaves as unerringly, as any one subject whatever, is regulated by any standard."

In the face of these facts, a large portion of the Slaveholders have always, except during the periods of the war, embargo, and nonintercourse, complained, and are now more than usually complaining, that they are impoverished *by the Government!*

The price of slaves has declined since 1839, and it will probably never rise again to the mark of that day, unless new and extensive territory, adapted to the culture of colonial articles—but especially to sugar, shall be obtained.

Since the year 1830, two States, Georgia and Tennessee, have been added to the slave-exporting States. There are now but five States and one Territory, which are strictly slave-consuming; and two of these, Alabama and Mississippi, have long prohibited the introduction of slaves for sale. There remain now only Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida, into which a slave can be lawfully introduced for sale. Louisiana has once passed such a law, but subsequently repealed it in consequence, as it was said, of the ravages of the cholera. I am suspicious, however, that it was more to reconcile free-traders and nullifiers to the protection of the sugar interest, by holding out to them the prospect of an increasing consumption of slaves. There is no employment of slaves so destructive of life, as that on the sugar plantations. The most eminent sugar-planters of Louisiana have declared, and the House of Representatives have published it to the world,† that the annual loss on their estates "by deterioration" of the slaves is *five per cent.* According to a letter of a Georgia sugar-planter, Thomas Spaulding, contained in the same Congressional document, the slaves, if not overworked or otherwise badly used, are healthier, and multiply faster on a sugar plantation, than upon any other. This tells badly for the humanity of sugar-planters, who use slave labor, because in every country and colony they do so manage as to make the sweetest of all products the bitterest to the bondman. The sugar *cane* kills the slave cultivator and manufacturer, and prevents "multiplying and replenishing," at such a rate, that in from seven to ten years the plantations would be depopulated, if it were not for the annual accession of new victims.

This was the argument presented by the Louisianians to the free-traders and nullifiers, to induce them to relax the sternness of their patriotism in favor of an industry so meritorious. The planters succeeded, and have always obtained a protection of *fifty to seventy-five per cent.* Even "the prince of nullifiers," and "king that shall be" of the new Southwestern and Texas-free-trade-slave confederacy, being inquired of by the sugar-planters as candidate for the presidency, what were his views respecting the protection of domestic industry, declared only eighteen months ago that he was in favor of a strictly revenue tariff, but "in the exercise of a sound discretion," and "with the scope which the rule will admit, he would take pleasure in *protecting* the great staple" of Louisiana.

In view of the rapid transition of the slave States from slave consuming to slave exporting States, and of the decline of the price of slaves and of cotton, there cannot be a doubt that the American slave-market has touched, or is very near touching its limit within our present territory. This is further illustrated by a curious historical series. It was sixteen years after the establishment of the Government that Louisiana was acquired. Sixteen years after that event we obtained Florida, and just sixteen years after that the revolt of Texas, devised by Slaveholders, aided by all the influence of the Government, as the sole means left them of obtaining that territory, took place. There would seem to be something operating with the force and precision of a physical law to bring round in this cycle, a new demand for slave territory. Had it not been for former acquisitions, Slavery would have been abolished before now in Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, and in some of them long ago. I have been informed that this is the opinion of Mr. Clay. New and powerful causes are now operating to precipitate this event, and, in the sequel, to carry emancipation, without pausing upon the frontier, into the very heart of the intended nullification confederacy. These causes are, want of variety in the objects of slave cultivation, coupled with the inaptitude and insecurity of slaves as manufacturers; the over-production of cotton, the establishment by the British ministry and Parliament of the principle of laying discriminating duties in favor of free labor, and the competition now mustering in the populous and vast territories of British India, a competion which will undoubtedly be aided at an early day by the application of the discriminating principle, and aggravated by Texas itself if it remain independent. And here I will utter my first word for the special benefit of the Texans. It is this: Calhoun has declared repeatedly that *he wishes them to be reconquered by Mexico, rather than remain independent*. The knaves may rely upon this.

In the Virginia Convention of 1829, Mr. Upshur, the negotiator of the Texas treaty, said:

"The value of slaves as an article of property, depends much on the state of the market abroad. Nothing is more fluctuating than the value of slaves. A late law of Louisiana reduced their value *twenty-five per cent.* in two hours after its passage was known. *If it should be our lot to acquire the country of Texas, their price will rise again.*"

From these considerations, I lay down with great confidence, this proposition, that in the present state, and with the present tendency of the slave-market, the slave-raising States will soon address themselves in earnest to the task of abolishing Slavery. They will have no alternative but this; emancipation, or general bankruptcy together with daily increasing danger of insurrection from the accumulation of slaves without the possibility of a drain. The fulfillment of John Randolph's prediction will then come, and masters, instead of slaves, will be advertised as "runaways."

But let Texas be annexed, and the face of things will change as by magic. The effect of it to enhance and sustain the price of slaves, will be greater, and probably more enduring than that of all our other acquisitions of slave territory. Texas, as defined by act of its Congress, and as we shall acquire it, (if we of the free States are capable of such disinterested villany—if the wrath of an offended Deity should abandon us for our past sins, to a policy at once so wicked and suicidal,) will form, as Col. Benton acknowledges, "a great many States." It contains 380,000 square miles, being nearly twice the extent of France, nine times that of New-York, nine times that of Pennsylvania, ten times that of Ohio, and fifty times that of Massachusetts! Mr. Clay has said that it would form five States. He undoubtedly meant Texas proper, extending only to the river *Medina*, which divides it from Coahuila, and not including the portions of that and of three other States of Mexico, which the said Congress have coolly "annexed" to Texas. Certainly such an act is as laughable as it is impudent. Still there can be no doubt, that if we once pass the *Sabine*, we shall not halt till we reach the Rio Bravo. This has always been the limit to which the usurpers, *for the present*, aspired. If we conclude to rob at all, we shall not boggle at the trifling question of more or less. This vast territory, except a corner in the Northwest not large enough for more than one State, lies south of thirty-six and a half degrees of north latitude, and according to the law passed, as part of the Missouri compromise, may all be made into slave States. If one side of the compromise was that Slavery should not pass north of that line, the other was that it may march up to it. If through blindness, corruption, or pusilanimity, we shall, with all our past experience, and present light, permit Texas to be annexed, we shall, with still more facility, permit it to be overrun by Slavery. Considering "what manner of spirit" it is, which Slavery nourishes, the immense accession of political power, and the security for continued political ascendency which it would acquire; considering how difficult, and for the most part vain, we and our fathers have found it to resist its engrossing and tyrannical temper and pretensions, although in our fathers' day there were but a quarter as many slaves as now, and no cotton at all, I should utterly despair, if Texas is annexed, of ever seeing any barrier erected either within, or *beyond* that territory, which the invading surge would not soon sweep away.

Mr. Walker, a member of the Senate from Mississippi, has put forth the theory that if Texas is acquired, Slavery will flow into it from the existing States, and, passing the ultimate Southwestern boundary of the Union, will diffuse itself in the persons of "free blacks, augmented in the slave States," over Mexico, and Central and South America. He does not suggest any way in which slaves are to be converted into freemen in those States. Manumission is prohibited by law in nearly every one of them, and without exception, in the planting States. But if manumission were free, would it be increased by opening a new market, and enhancing the price of slaves? Common sense teaches, and experience proves, that the increase of free blacks is in inverse proportion to the market value of slaves. Undoubtedly the slaves would "diffuse" themselves very quick over Mexico, or over Patagonia, if water is permitted to find its level, and the slaves to elope. But one of the original, and most malignant causes of the conspiracy to rob Mexico of her territory, was, that she could neither be wheedled nor threatened into an engagement to surrender fugitive slaves. During fifteen years our slave-masters, masters of this Government and people, persisted in pressing upon Mexico this impudent pretension. Her reply was, that "Slavery was a palpable violation of the first principles of a free republic." Mr. Benton, who started, and recently boasted in the Senate of having started the project of Annexation, alleged in the beginning, as one reason, the danger of the elopement of slaves from our Southwestern States into Texas, in which, by the laws of Mexico, Slavery had been abolished. The Southern press shouted a fierce assent. A slaveholding republic, they said, could not bear the juxtaposition of a republic which had abolished Slavery. Even the late Secretary of State, Mr. Upshur, in his correspondence with our Minister at London, urged the same thing as a reason, and as constituting a necessity, for Annexation. This is the delirium of a pro-slavery brain-fever; for the difficulty is not removed by annexing Texas, nor can it be without extending the slave States to Terra del Fuego, to Dutch Guiana, and Brazil! In fact, there is no doubt that the authors of this immoderate and shameless scheme of iniquity, seriously cherish the idea of an indefinite aggrandizement of the slave power, by boundless conquests in the Southwest; and if they can accomplish the first step, it is probable that their idea will be realized. Mr. Wise, in his speech in favor of war with Great Britain and Mexico, delivered in the House of Representatives in 1842, declared that "Slavery should pour itself out without restraint, and find no limit but the Southern ocean." The late Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, said in his celebrated letter on Annexation, in 1843, that "the pioneer from our seaboard would soon kindle his fire on the Gulf of California." Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, alluding incidentally to Texas, in his speech on Oregon, delivered in the Senate in March last, said that "Providence had given us a mission to carry civilization and Christianity throughout this continent, and we could no more be arrested in our career than the torrent of Niagara." Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, of the same State, expressed himself a few days afterwards to the same effect, in the House of Representatives!

Mr. Walker's sole argument, based on moral considerations, is, that according to the *returns of the last census*, freedom renders the colored people insane, idiots, deaf and dumb, blind, paupers and criminals, to an appalling extent; and the inference that he draws, is that humanity and duty require that we should enslave them; and yet this astonishing statesman solicits our consent and co-operation upon the plea that Annexation will be the means, and, in his judgment, the only possible means of abolishing Slavery! By such lame and wretched artifices, the silly knaves seriously calculate to swindle intelligent freemen. Sixty thousand copies of Walker's pamphlet were distributed last winter in all quarters of the country, under the franks of Democrats, falsely so called. In virtue of this distinguished effort in the cause of human thraldom, he became, by general consent, the dictator of the Baltimore Convention. At his nod, Van Buren was flung down, and Polk put up; and his bare announcement, that George M. Dallas had written the *first* letter expressing "delight" with this pamphlet, was sufficient to make him, bank and tariff notwithstanding, the candidate by acclamation for the Vice Presidency! As one of the white race, I feel deep humiliation at these proceedings.

(*Remainder next week.*)

* American Quarterly Review, Dec. 1832.

† Document 99, House of Representatives 21st Congress, 2d Session.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

HINGHAM PIC-NIC.

Had the day appointed been a pleasant one, and the celebration of the first of August held on that day instead of the next, there would have been time enough to have given some account of it in last week's paper. It is proverbial that anti-slavery meetings in Plymouth county, and especially in Hingham, are always appointed on rainy days: that it was so on this occasion was unfortunate; if for no other reason than because I am to tell a "twice told tale" to a large proportion of the readers of the Standard. Those who have read it before will pardon the repetition for the sake of those who have not, and these will pardon its incompleteness, because it is too old a story now to consume much time with.

By some who were there it will be remembered only as a day of disasters. With them it began in annoyance, and ended in downright wretchedness. The heat was oppressive; and while the Essex, Suffolk, and Middlesex, delegations were crowded together for an hour, on the wharf, in Boston, awaiting the arrival of the boat, the Plymouth and Norfolk delegations, stood two hours in the streets of Hingham, under the burning sun, anxiously looking for the arrival of their friends. "This is as bad as the Black Hole in Calcutta," said one. "Why, no!" said another, "for we've plenty of fresh air." "Ay!" replied the first, "but the Black Hole was *so shady!*" But all these annoyances were soon forgotten when the pleasures of the day really commenced, and would not have been remembered had not worse befallen those who came by water, on their return at night.

In Hingham it was a *real* celebration, such as all the people get up for the 4th of July, or some other national gala day. The rising sun was greeted by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. The principal streets, and even one of the churches, were adorned with flags hung from the most conspicuous positions. Nor were we allowed to forget that it was not Freedom in our own country that we were commemorating, for zealous Whigs and Democrats were careful to hang out their banners also, with the names of Clay and Frelinghuysen, Polk and Dallas, Polk and Texas, inscribed thereon, that all the people should remember, that treachery to Liberty, was the first requisite in a Candidate for the Chief Magistracy of this great, glorious, and free country. The town was absolutely thronged with people. The neighboring villages all turned out in every possible description of vehicle, from those that carried two, to those that carried twenty, and came literally "an army with banners." Hundreds came from a distance of twenty and thirty miles, in Anti-Slavery procession, and none, in all the country round, that stared at them as they passed, but knew that it was West India Emancipation which called forth all this enthusiasm, and were reminded thereby of our own three millions chattel slaves. The farmer and the mechanic, as they passed from their labors in the field and the workshop, and their wives and daughters as they ran to the windows to watch the passing pageant, read in the long line of carriages, with their waving banners, a lesson in Anti-Slavery. Plymouth County was one great lecture-room that day, and few in it so dull, that were not taught to remember that the chains which still bound the limbs of Americans, had been stricken from the limbs of British subjects.

The various delegations at length got together, and the procession moved. In ranks of from four to seven, it yet was a mile in length. With several bands of music it marched through the village, and wound its slow length along through the green fields to the grove. It was a noble and a cheering sight, these thousands gathered together there, in such a way, and for such a purpose, and one which Massachusetts alone can give. The Chief Marshal, Jairus Lincoln, with his Aids, H. W. Williams, and Nathan Lincoln, did their duty admirably, and kept the different sections of the procession in their proper places. The host was led by nearly fifty young girls,—Hebes they were called, and rightly,—all in white, and

wearing the prettiest possible straw hats, trimmed with wreaths of living flowers and leaves. Very beautiful did these young girls look, and most appropriate was it that they should be the escort, on an occasion which woman's head and woman's heart had done so much to create, and in a cause which appeals, not to men's rough passions, but to the gentler, and purer, and more loving nature, which belongs to woman. But these were not the only females in the procession, as there were many others,—perhaps half of the whole number,—who took their places in the proper delegations. In one instance two of them acted as guards to a banner, each carrying a tassel. But these, I believe, were amateur Abolitionists for this occasion only.

I give here the order of the procession, copied from the Liberator, with a description of the banners:

The Chief Marshal and Aids on horseback.

Legion of Honor, composed of fifty young ladies, dressed uniformly in white, with wreaths of oak leaves.

Hingham banner, of white silk, bearing on one side the motto, "Still achieving—still pursuing," with a most beautiful and appropriate device, expressing success and aspiration, and on the reverse, "Hingham Anti-Slavery Society, formed 1835."

Abolitionists of Hingham.

Marshal of Plymouth County.

Abington banner, with the motto, "No union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically," and a beautiful device representing the Genius of Freedom shrinking from the offered hand of the slave-driver.

Abington Delegation. Banner—motto, "Great is Truth, Great is Liberty, Great is Humanity, and they must and will prevail."

Other towns of Plymouth Co. in Alphabetical order.

Hanson Banner, with a device representing the Eagle of America trampling a prostrate slave, a bloodhound in the act of seizing the victim, and a file of soldiers pointing their muskets at his body, with the motto, "This is American Liberty," and below, "Truth shall set you free."

Hanover and other delegations from Plymouth County.

Kingston Banner—device, a kneeling slave—motto, "No union with Slaveholders."

Kingston and other towns.

Banner. Motto, "Our fanaticism: "All men are created equal—thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Other Delegations.

Plymouth Banner, representing the landing of the Pilgrims, with the date 1620.

Plymouth and other towns.

Banner. Motto, "God himself is with us for our Captain."

Other towns in Plymouth County.

Essex County.

The gorgeous Banner of the American Anti-Slavery Society, presented at the late N. E. Convention.

Towns in Essex County.

Banner. Motto, "Immediate emancipation the duty of the master, and the right of the slave."

Representatives of Lynn, with banners.

Banner. Device, the Liberty Bell; Motto, "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land."

Delegates, from other towns in Essex county.

Banner, Motto, "Shall a republic which could not bear the bonds of a king, cradle a bondage which a king has abolished?

Salem and other towns of Essex.

Suffolk Marshal.

Holmes' Boston Band.

Banner. Device, the hour of emancipation; representing a slave at sunrise on the 1st of Aug. 1834, with the chains falling from his limbs, from which they have just been broken. Motto, "This is the Lord's doing. Slavery abolished in the British West Indies, 1st August, 1834."

Boston Delegates.

Banner. Motto, "The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with the slaveholder."

Chelsea, with a banner of blue silk, inscribed with the word, "Chelsea," in gold letters.

Norfolk Marshal.

Dorchester Banner. Gold letters on an azure field. Device, a Slaveholder presenting a deed of emancipation to his chattel personal. Motto, "Our watchword, Let the oppressed go free." Beneath the device, "Be just and fear not."

Dorchester and other delegations.

Banner. "The Liberator," with the initials W. L. G. enclosed in an oak wreath, and the motto, "I am in earnest! I will not equivocate! I will not excuse! I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard!" taken from the first No. of the paper.

Milton, with a banner.

Banner. Device—a Cap of Liberty. Motto, "God never made a tyrant nor a slave."

Other towns in Norfolk county.

West Roxbury Banner. Motto—"He hath sent me to preach deliverance to the captive."

Walpole and other delegations.

Weymouth Banner.

"No union with slaveholders."

Weymouth and other towns of Norfolk county.

Delegates from other counties.

At the entrance of the grove was an arch of green boughs, on which were the following inscriptions:

"Welcome all to Freedom's Altar."

"Prayer-strengthened for the trial, come together;
Put on the harness for the moral fight;
And with the blessing of your Heavenly Father,
Maintain the right."

There were several of these arches most skilfully and beautifully made, and on each was an inscription. On the second was the line:

"God made us free! then fetter not a brother's limbs!"

On the next:

"True freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear."

And on the fourth:

"True freedom is to be
Earnest to make others free."

The fifth and last, beneath which the procession passed, was near the tables, and the place of meeting:

"Hail, friend of Truth, thou esterest here,
The grove long named Tranquility—
O! let thy soul then breathe sweet peace,
Pure love, and true humility."

Immediately after the immense concourse of people had all reached the place of meeting, and order was in some sort obtained, the exercises of the day were commenced by nine cheers and a prayer.

A fitter place for an out-door meeting could not have been chosen. It was near the edge of the wood on the south and west side, shaded almost completely from the sun, but within reach of all the breeze there was a stirring. The ground formed a natural amphitheatre, in the centre of which the rostrum for the speakers and the Hutchinsons, was placed, who were thus within sight and hearing of the whole six or eight thousand by whom they were surrounded. On the hill-sides seats were arranged, which accomodated several thousands. On the top of one of these hills the tables were placed in a hollow-square, and loaded with every variety of food, and adorned with superb boquets of flowers, and beautiful moss-baskets. These tons of provisions vanished in a marvellously short time before the hungry multitude, when the signal for eating was given. Some,—it is hoped, not Abolitionists—far transcended the bounds of decency in their feeding, and quite forgot that others must go hungry for their gorging. But little time however was consumed in these matters, when the people betook themselves to listening to speeches from Quincy, Pierpont, Douglass, James Freeman Clarke, White, Clapp, the venerable Father Sprague,—whom all welcomed back again, after a long illness, to an Anti-Slavery meeting—Howe, and Russel, of Hingham, and Johnson. The following letters from Mr. Adams and his son, were read at the opening of the meeting:

LETTER FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Miss THAXTER—In declining the invitation which I received last summer to attend the celebration of the First of August, it was in no wise my intention to express disapprobation of the celebration itself. The Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies of Great Britain, by the Parliament of that realm, was an event, at which, if the whole human race could have been concentrated in one person, the heart of that person would have leaped for joy. The restoration of eight hundred thousand human beings from a state of grinding oppression to the rights bestowed upon them by the God of Nature at their birth, was of itself a cause of rejoicing to the pure in heart throughout the habitable earth. But that is not the only nor the most raidiant glory of that day. It was the Pledge of Power and of Will of the mightiest nation upon the Globe, that the bondage of man shall cease; that the manacle and fetter shall drop from every limb; that the ties of nature shall no longer be outraged by man's inhumanity to man; that the self-evident truths of our Declaration of Independence shall no longer be idle mockeries, belied by the transcendent power of Slavery welded into our Constitution. It was the voice of the herald, like that of John the Baptist in the wilderness, proclaiming, as with the trump of the archangel, that the standing, fundamental policy of the British Empire was thenceforth the peaceful Abolition of Slavery throughout the world.

Well then may the friends of Freedom and of Man rejoice at the annual return of that day. Well may they, from far and wide, assemble and meet together in mutual gratulation at the return of so blessed a day. Well may they come in crowds to cheer and encourage one another to contribute, every one according to his ability, to the final consummation of this glorious and stupendous undertaking. My unwillingness to participate in it arose only from shame for the honor and good name of my country, whose Government, under a false and treacherous pretence of co operation with Great Britain for the suppression of *one* of the forms of this execrable system of Slavery, has been now for a series of years pursuing and maturing a counteraction of the purpose of Universal Emancipation, and organizing an opposite system for the maintenance, preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery throughout the earth.

For the last fifteen years this unhallowed purpose has been constantly, perservingly, and unblushingly persisted in, with a pertinacity of exertion and a perfidy in the use of means never surpassed by any conspiracy ever formed against the liberties of mankind. The dismemberment of the neighboring Republic of Mexico, the re-institution of Slavery throughout an immense portion of her territory, and the purchase or conquest of California, with the lying pretension of re-annexing Texas to this Union, have been, and yet are among these profligate and unprincipled means. An absurd and preposterous attempt to pick a quarrel with Great Britain, upon false and frivolous pretences, is another. The utter prostration of the exclusive Constitutional power of Congress to declare war—the whole compound budget of blunders and of crimes—the abortive negotiation of a treaty of plunder and robbery, which the Senate had the common sense and common honesty almost unanimously to reject—the glaring falsehood by which the Texans themselves were inveigled into the negotiation—all these, and many more enormities of the deepest dye, are but parts and parcels of the agony of Slavery struggling for existence and perpetuation against the awakening conscience of mankind.

The abortion of slave-mongering diplomacy, miscalled a Treaty, attempted in the last hours of an administration detested and despised even by its own partisans, is the last act of this knot of conspirators against Human Freedom. Their foul and filthy purpose has at length been extorted from them. It is, by an exterminating war, to rob Mexico of her provinces, and to defend and perpetuate Slavery by open war against England for undertaking to abolish it throughout the world. A self-styled President of the United States, and two successive Secretaries of State of his appointment, have with shameless effrontery avowed, to the scorn and indignation of civilized man, that their project of wholesale treachery, robbery, and murder, was undertaken and pursued for the deliberate purpose of overreaching, overturning and destroying the system of policy of the British Nation to promote the Abolition of Slavery throughout the World. I have long foreseen and watched the progress of the two systems towards this issue, and have given formal warnings to my countrymen of it, by speeches in the House of Representatives in 1836, 1838, and 1842, by addresses to my constituents, 1837 at Quincy, 1842 at Braintree, and in 1843 at Dedham, and by an address, signed by twenty-one other members of Congress, and myself to the People of the Free States, at the close of the session of 1843—an address falsely charged by the forty-bale weathercock hero of Texan Annexation, Nullification, and the blessings of Slavery, as threatening dissolution of the Union. I have seen the steady and gradual approaches of the two systems to the conflict of mortal combat, in all their phases, from the strictly confidential letter of Andrew Jackson of 10th December, 1833, to the Secretary, not Governor of Arkansas Territory, to that consummate device of Slave holding Democracy, the two-thirds rule of the late Democratic Convention of Baltimore, and to the casting down of the glove of defiance, by our present Secretary of State, in his letter to the British Plenipotentiary, of 18th April last. The glove was indeed not taken up. We are yet to learn with what ears the sound of the trumpet of Slavery was listened to by the British Queen and her Ministers. We are yet to learn whether the successor of Elizabeth on the throne of England, and her Burleighs and Walsinghams, upon hearing that their avowed purpose to promote Universal Emancipation and the extinction of Slavery upon the earth is to be met by the man-robbers of our own country with exterminating war, will like craven cowards turn their backs and flee, or eat their own words, or disclaim the purpose they have avowed. That, Miss Thaxter, is the issue flung in their faces by President Tyler, and his Secretary, John C. Calhoun. And that is the issue to which they have pledged, to the extent of their power, you and me and the Free People of this Union, and their posterity, for life and death, for peace and war, for time and eternity.

Shall we respond affirmatively to that pledge? No! by the God of Justice and Mercy! No! My heart is full to overflowing, but I have no more room for words. Proceed then to celebrate and solemnize the Emancipation of eight hundred thousand British slaves, whose bonds have been loosened by British hands. Invoke the blessings of the Almighty with prayer that the day may speedily come when the oppressed millions of our own land shall be raised to the dignity and enjoy the rights of Freedom, and when the soil of Texas herself shall be as free as our own. I cannot be with you, for age and infirmity forbid: but for every supplication breathed by you for the Universal Emancipation of Man and the extinction of Slavery upon earth, my voice shall respond Amen!

From your friend and faithful kinsman,
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Miss ANNA QUINCY THAXTER, Hingham.
QUINCY, 29 July, 1844.

LETTER FROM CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Miss Anna Q. Thaxter, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of the first of August, at Hingham.

QUINCY, July 29, 1844.

A brief excursion, from which I have just returned, must be my apology for not answering sooner the invitation which has been very kindly extended to me, through you, to attend the celebration at Hingham, of the anniversary of the first of August.

My engagements are such that it will be out of my power to be present on that day. But, wherever I may be, and however occupied upon its annual recurrence during my life, I trust I shall never be unmindful of the great event which it commemorates, the most brilliant victory of a purely moral principle in political affairs that can be found recorded in the history of modern times.

With great respect, I remain,
Your obedient servant,
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

The sun was setting ere the great mass of the people dispersed, and even then they seemed to go reluctantly.

The Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex delegations, with the few who came from more distant counties,—for there were some present from fifty and sixty miles inland,—embarked on board the Portland to return to Boston. But a thick fog coming up, she was obliged to anchor for the night. Here were fifteen hundred people crowded together with scarcely room to stand, and without food, or even water. Fatigued as they all were, it was no joking matter, but they made a joke of it, and vied with each other in good humor, and pleasant wit and laughter, all the night long. To the women and children, or the most feeble of them, the berths were given up, while the rest stood up, who had been standing, some of them, all the day. Those who could find any place wherein to rest their weary limbs were fortunate, though it were no better than three feet of space into which a six-foot friend of ours coiled himself, willing to compound with the cramp and the long legs of some other wight dangling about his head, for a little rest. One youth lay upon the rail, and dreaming probably of his own bed at home, turned over, and woke up six feet under water. Fortunately he was rescued.—Parents were glad of a seat that they might hold their child by turns till morning. A loaf of bread was esteemed a capital pillow, though had its substance been known, the pillow would have been eaten for a "night-cap."—As they had no supper, they talked about breakfast, and resolved themselves into a committee of the whole on the subject, and made many moving speeches thereon, and rung the bell for the passengers to call at the captain's office and purchase their tickets, till somebody dispelled the pleasing illusion by moving that it be "laid on the table." Many, no doubt, suffered much, but on the whole it was a remarkable instance of the pursuit of pleasure under difficulties, and great credit certainly is due them all, for the imperturbable good humor, and even gaiety, with which they submitted to their sufferings. The day ended with them the next morning at 8 o'clock, when they arrived at Boston,—a day that will not soon be forgotten by any who were at Hingham, and a night ever to be remembered by those who passed it on board the steamer Portland.—o.

N. P. ROGERS'S

Kindly greeting should have been replied to last week, had I not been absent for a few days, from my post, to breathe the moral and natural atmosphere of my New England home, which he thinks, and rightly, I so much miss and need in this city of dirt and the devil. I am glad to be assured that his *thought* implied no doubt but certainty, though he may be assured also that the doubt,—if it were a true one,—and not its utterance, would trouble me. All quarrels are "misunderstandings," both in the true and prescriptive sense of the word, and such can never arise between us so long as we remain in relations of simplicity and candor, which he always maintains, and I, at least, love.

THE McDONOUGH SLAVES.

Many of our readers will remember the exceedingly interesting account, which appeared in the papers more than a year ago, of the painful and toilsome apprenticeship which these persons suffered, and suffered gladly, for fifteen years, in the hope of ultimate Emancipation, even with exile. The following paragraph from the N. O. Bulletin, will be read with interest, though great allowances must be made for the favorable account given, in consideration of the quarter whence the information comes.

From the New Orleans Bulletin, June 26.

LIBERIA.—We have had the pleasure of perusing a number of letters written by the manumitted servants of our esteemed fellow-citizen, John McDonough, Esq. from their new home in Africa, to their former master and other gentlemen. These letters express the utmost satisfaction of the emigrants with the soil, climate, production and situation of the colony, and abound with expressions of thankfulness and gratitude to Mr. M'D. to whose forecast, liberality, and well-considered philanthropy they are so greatly indebted. Coffee, cotton, potatoes, cassadoes, plantain, are among the articles which they enumerate as under successful operation by them. They have had little or no sickness among them—speak well of the general condition of the colonists, moral and physical—of the schools, and especially, of the religious opportunities which they enjoy.

The few inconveniences they are under, of which a trace can be found in the letters, are only those inseparable from emigration to a country comparatively new, and are not equal to those usually encountered by families removing from the Eastern into the Western States of the Union. The picture represented by the letters is the honest, rough sketch of simple-minded negroes, and is exceedingly gratifying and encouraging to the friends of African colonization, and fully proves, we think, the advantage of Mr. McDonough's method. We trust the success which has attended his experiment will induce others of our enterprising and humane proprietors to adopt it.

AMENDMENT TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The Ohio Statesman, a democratic paper, lays down the following as a "great fundamental principle and self-evident truth of American Liberty," viz:

That the only legitimate government is that which is established by the governed; and where no government exists, established by the sovereignty of the people, *the* WHITE *male adult resident citizens have an indefeasable and undoubted right to form a government for the security of their rights.*

Mr. Atherton, or some other equally deserving member of the "young Democraice," should be instructed to move an amendment to the Declaration of Independence in the next Congress, that it may more fully signify the faith of the Nation, and that that document may then read, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all *white* men are created free and equal, and are entitled to certain unalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the uninterrupted pursuit of runaway negroes."

PETTY MALICE.

Two papers from the South,—one of them from Norfolk, Va.—which did not go from this office, have been recently returned here, enclosed in letter form, and subjecting us to heavy postage. Such petty larceny scoundrels hav'n't the wit to know, that in such cases the Post Office Department remits the amount paid when the circumstances are made known. They must pick our pockets in the old way, or invent a more ingenious one than this.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

This gentleman has recently written a letter to the Whigs of Ashtabula County, Ohio, in which he reaffirms his intention of adhering to the Whig party in the ensuing Presidential election.

WASHINGTON'S FARMING.

An article is going the rounds of the papers, setting forth the superior excellence of General Washington's farming, and the frugality and method with which he managed this branch of business. They all forget to mention one instance of his economy,—he never paid his laborers.

BOOKS.

Dymond's Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the private and political Rights and Obligations of Mankind.

This very excellent work is not so well known, nor so extensively read as it should be. It breathes the purest Christian spirit, and the most high-toned morality. It deserves a place as a household book on every one's table. Collins, Brother, & Co. 254 Pearl street, have recently issued a cheap edition, but a neatly bound volume, well printed, and on good paper.

THE SOCIAL PIONEER, AND HERALD OF PROGRESS.—The first number of a new periodical, with this title, to be issued as often as circumstances will permit, is received. It is published under the superintendence of the New England Social Reform Society, and will be an advocate of the principles upon which the Skaneateles Community is founded. The present number contains a report of the Sayings and Doings of the Social Reform Convention, held in Boston in May last.

The August number of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, is also on our table. It contains a Report of the Anniversary of the London Peace Society, and several other interesting articles.

CHRISTIANS FORBIDDEN TO FIGHT.—A sermon before the Rhode Island Peace Society, by Rev. E. B. Hall, of Providence. It condemns alike offensive and defensive war as incompatible with the preeepts of Christianity. The ultra non-resistance principle, however, it repudiates as fallacious.

TO AGENTS AND OTHERS.

Will all the Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, now in the field—all the General Agents of auxiliary State Societies—and all the friends, whether lecturers or not, give to us, *as often as they can*, whatever of general interest may occur during their labors, or in their neighborhoods? We shall be glad to devote a column or two each week, to such communications, that we may make the paper more useful to them by this exchange of "experiences," more interesting to all the readers, and of more effectual service to the cause.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Education.—At a meeting of the friends of education, among whom were gentlemen from Buenos Ayres, S. A.; England, and the United States, held at the American Institute, July 19th, 1844, his honor, the Mayor of New-York, was called in the chair, and Rev. D. P. Kidder was appointed Secretary.

Rev. Dr. Thompson, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was invited to make remarks.

Dr. T. gave a narration of his efforts to promote education in Buenos Ayres, Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and the general favor with which his efforts were regarded in those countries.

Mr. Holbrook was introduced to make an explanation of some apparatus he had prepared for the advancement of primary education in all languages. He explained its uses and applications to geography, geology, mineralogy, geometry and drawing.

The Rev. Dr. Pitman offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the apparatus proposed by Mr. Josiah Holbrook for the use of schools and families is well adapted to the object of promoting elementary and practical education in all countries, and that we hereby recommend it to universal patronage.

Which was seconded by Hon. Mr. Meigs, with some appropriate remarks, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Sweet remarked that this was a favorable time for the introduction of this apparatus into the common schools of this State, there being now 5000 to 8000 district schools of the State provided with the means for the purchase of apparatus, but as yet unappropriated.

Doctor M. Stephenson moved the following resolution, which was seconded and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That this meeting recommend Mr. Holbrook's apparatus to the trustees and guardians of public institutions, orphan asylums, and houses of refuge, as a suitable mode of communicating amusement and instruction to their inmates.

It was further unanimously

Resolved, 1. That we recommend a correspondence on this subject with the friends of early education in England and other foreign countries.

Resolved, 2. That Rev. Dr. Thompson, from London, Gen. Almonte, Minister Plenipotentiary from Mexico, Gen. Alvea, of Buenos Ayres. Gen. Aycenena, of Guatemala, and J. B. Purroy, Venezuelan Consul, be requested to use their influence in promoting this object in the countries they represent; to which request the gentlemen named gave their individual and hearty assent.

The meeting then adjourned.

JAMES HARPER, President.
D. P. KIDDER, Secretary.

Silas Lamson.—Many of our readers have heard of this somewhat singular character. He has just been sent to the Insane Hospital at Worcester, where he should have been long ago. Some three months since he was convicted of disturbing religious services in Boston, and in default of fine, was put in jail. This was cruel. He has been insane for about twenty years, and has considered himself divinely appointed to promulgate certain revelations from heaven—in obedience to which belief he has often published proclamations for all nations to meet at Washington to take counsel of him,—while he has availed himself of every opportunity to exhort men wherever he could find them congregated. We have known him from our childhood, and pronounce him a simple-hearted, innocent old man. The cause of his mental aberation, we believe, was the death of a favorite child. In appearance, "Father Lamson" looks like one of the relics of antiquity. His beard and hair have been permitted to remain unshaven and unshorn for many years; and his dress has been of an entirely *unique* character.

Woonsocket Patriot.

The River.—The Bayou Sara *Ledger* of last Saturday states that the river at that point had risen within a few days, and was as high as at any time during the season.—*N. O. Bulletin, Aug.* 1.

Gen. WADDY THOMPSON publishes a letter in the *Charleston Courier*, in reply to certain charges preferred against him concerning his course in relation to Texas Annexation. The following is an extract:

"Political considerations must also cause other nations to look with jealousy upon the further extension of our boundaries and power. I said, both in my despatch and in my Texas letter, that Mexico could not, in my opinion, invade Texas "with a reasonably sufficient force;" and no other power has any motive or interest to do so. I now go further, and say what I did not say in my Texas letter, and which I do not say slightly, that I have the *strongest reasons* to believe that the ratification of the late treaty would have involved this country in a collision with at least one of the strong powers of Europe; and and whilst I trust that in a case where the honor of my country required it, I should be as ready to meet the issue as those who boast more, I would not do an unwise and an unjust thing merely to show my courage.

As to the opinion expressed that "an authoritative interposition of our Government," would be agreeable to Santa Anna, this opinion (and it was only given as an opinion,) was founded solely upon his inability to reconquer Texas. But if the question assumes a new shape, and one which shall bring any of the strong powers of the world to his aid, who so stupid as to doubt that he desires to reconquer Texas, if he can?"

Mexico and Texas.—The Galveston news publishes the following official letter.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
MEXICO, June 17th, 1844.

To W. S. MURPHY, Esq. *Charge d'Affairs of the U. S.*

SIR: I wrote a few days since that it was Gen. Santa Anna's intention to invade Texas immediately with a large force. As yet nothing has been done by Congress in the way of raising money, but troops have been secretly despatched to reinforce the army of the North, and Gen. Canales has been named to the command. *Immediate preparations for resistance and defence should be made.*

I think that Santa Anna calculates on foreign aid. A few days since an order appeared in the Diario del Gobierno, addressed to Gen. Woll, and directions that any individual who should be found beyond a league distance from the left bank of the Rio Bravo should be punished as a traitor after a summary military trial.

I applied to the British minister to unite with me in a remonstrance to this order. He replied that he presumed that the Texans were to be treated by Mexico as rebels, and declined interfering, otherwise than to request verbally that the order should not be put in force against British subjects.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, &c.
BENJAMIN E. GREEN.

Long Island Railroad.—The Company, we learn, have purchased the steamers Worcester, Cleopatra, and New Haven, and the route to Boston will be opened on Thursday, the New Haven running between Greenport, New London and Stonington; the two other boats continue to run direct from New-York to Norwich. Passengers will take the cars at the South Ferry, at 8 o'cloek, A. M. dine on board the steamer, and reach Boston before 5 P. M.—*Brooklyn Star.*

Mr. Sable Rogers, of Springfield, Massachusetts, was brought before a Justice, on the 15th instant, on the charge of violating the Lord's day, in mowing and making hay, &c. and convicted and fined $10 and costs of court. He appealed, and was put under $100 bonds for good behaviour, and to keep the peace, &c.

The Worcester Ægis believes that the success of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad is placed beyond a doubt. There have been $400,000 subscribed on the route. The estimated cost of the road is $1,500,000.

The boot and shoe trade is one of immense importance in this State. In Abington, the value of these articles manufactured, is $1,230,000; in Weymouth, $1,045,257; in Quincy, $111,881; in Braintree, $656,541; in Randolph, $944,714; in North Bridgewater, $184,000; in East Bridgewater, $277,800, &c.—*Lowell Couv.*

Berkshire Jubilee.—The committee of Natives of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, resident in New-York, have made arrangements for a grand jubilee at Pittsfield, on the 22d and 23d of August next. From their circular we copy the following programme for the celebration:—A sermon to be delivered on the 23d, at 2 o'clock, P. M. by Rev. Mark Hopkins, D. D. President of Williams College; and in case of his failure, by Rev. John S. Stone, D. D. of Brooklyn, N. Y. On the evening of the 22d the houses of the citizens will be thrown open for general visiting. An oration to be delivered on the 23d, at 10 A. M. by Hon. Joshua A. Spencer, of Utica, New-York; and in case of his failure, by Hon. Mark Sibley, of Canandaigua, New-York. A dinner at 1 o'clock, in the open air, to which all are invited. His Excellency, Gov. George N. Briggs, will preside at the dinner. Among the committee, we observe Judge Betts, Reverend Orville Dewey, William Cullen Bryant, and Theodore Sedgwick. It will be a glorious day for old Berkshire.

Shocking Railroad Accident.—A boy about thirteen years of age, named David Graham, was run over, this morning, on the Baltimore Railroad, between Broad street and Shippen lane, and was so much injured that no hopes are entertained of his recovery. He had climbed upon the foremost car, when the conductor seeing him, beckoned to him to get down. He went to jump off, and fell between the car and the one next to it. The wheels of the latter car passed over his left thigh near the hip, mangling it in a shocking manner. The boy was conveyed to the Pennsylvania Hospital, where amputation was pronounced necessary.—*Philadelphia Gazette.*

The Whitehall Chronicle states that a Mr. Whitefield, an old gentleman between sixty and seventy years of age, residing in the town of Athol, Warren county, was recently murdered by his wife, who inflicted several blows upon his head with an axe. She was insane.

A Dutchman's view of the Texas Question.—An old and respectable Dutch farmer in the Valley of Virginia, a staunch Democrat, being asked his opinion on the Texas question, expounded it as follows:

"Well, I dont like to own more land than my hands can work well—it is apt to get full of weeds—and I can never buy land that is in law, or under incumbrance. I think our farm is large enough for our own force—let us go to work to get that in good order, and if this Texas plantation is then out of law, and free from incumbrance, I go for buying it."

Interesting to Husbands.—A late English paper says that in the Court of Queen's Bench, recently, a jury refused to make a husband responsible for an extravagant milliner's bill to his wife, comprehending among other items, ten new bonnets, and forty-three pairs of gloves in seven months!

Postures in Public Worship.—A correspondent of the *Boston Recorder* writes as follows:—"Yesterday I attended worship in the new and beautiful church of Rev. Dr. Kirk's congregation, and was happy to hear some incidental remarks on the mode of public devotion. It seems that the subject had been referred to a committee, and as they were not yet prepared to report, the pastor made at their request, a few suggestions on some changes deemed desirable in certain parts of their exercises.

The substance of his remarks on the posture in the exercises was, that we should stand to sing the praises of God, sit to hear his word, and kneel or bow in prayer.

Poisoning from Opium.—We find the following communication in the Louisville Courier. Is it true? We published the "vinegar" incident, and of course commend the antidote to all who have swallowed the poison:
N. Y. Tribune.

DEAR SIR:—There is a great propensity in the newspaper editorial profession to administer to various physical ailments, much of which is harmless. But your paper of Saturday contains a notice of "a thrilling incident," that might be attended with dangerous consequences. I allude to the use of *vinegar* as an antidote to *opium*.—Nothing could accelerate the effects of opium more certainly, rapidly, and fatally, than vinegar; and when a Turk wishes to commit suicide, his usual course is to take his ordinary dose of opium, and then swallow a cup of vinegar. This converts the opium into an acetate, one of the most active and virulent of poisons. Let your readers be cautioned against vinegar as the antidote to laudanum.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from July 27th, to August 11th, 1844.

Edmund Davis, North Andover, Mass.		$2.00
J. L Kellogg, Bridgewater, N. Y.		2.00
Gurden Turner, "	"	1.00
D. Merritt, Salem, Mass.		21.00
C. White, Hudson, N. Y.		2.00
Wm. W. Morris, Nantucket, Mass.		2.00
E. J. Pompey, "	"	2.00
A. F. Boston, "	"	2.00
J. B. Macey, "	"	2.00
W. Hadwin, "	"	2.00
C. Pierce, "	"	2.00
Cyrus Gall, Northboro', "		2.00
Henry Collins, Poplar Ridge, N. Y.		2.00
Charles Griffith, Litchfield, Ohio,		1.00
D. S. Grandin, Goff's corner, Me.		2.00
John Ketcham, Jericho, L. I.		2.00
John C. Merritt, Bethpage, L. I.		2.00
Wm. French, Kingston, R. I.		2.00
Henry Soule, Duxbury, Mass.		2.00
Nathan Soule, "	"	2.00
C. A. Remington, Remington, N. Y.		.56
R. S. Wilkinson, Lockport, "		3.00
Ladies A. S. Society, Spiceland, In.		1.00
Wm. Henry Brisbane, Cincinnati, Ohio,		2.00
Dr. Jacob Hayes, New Market, N. H.		2.00
Moses H. Wiggin, "	"	2.00
E. B. Huntington, Henniker, "		2.00
Lewis Greenleaf, "	"	2.00
Benjamin Thompson, Durham, "		2.00
Henry Mott, New-York,		2.00
Nancy Butterworth, Twenty-mile-Stand, O.		2.00
Maria W. Chapman, Boston,		4.00
James M. Robbins, Milton, Mass.		2.00
O. Cushing, South Hingham, "		2.00
Joshua Perry, Hanson, "		1.00
Edwin Thompson, Dedham, "		4.00
Perry Thayer, Millville, "		2.00
Francis Wright, Utica, N. Y.		2.00
James Hodson, Mineral Point, Wis. Ter.		2.00
Nathan Johnson, New Bedford, Mass.		4.00
Sarah Holland, Needham, "		2.00
Theodore B. Moses, Somersworth, N. H.		5.00
David P. Parker, Boston,		2.00
Elisha Waterman, Redding Ridge, Ct.		3.00
A. A. Denny, Leicester, Mass.		1.50
Isaac Smith, Leominster, "		2.00
Catharine Catlin, Athol, "		2.00
Seth Bemis, Boston,		2.00
E. M. Smith, "		2.00
Wm. E. Lukens, Shortereek, Harrison co. O.		2.00
A. A. Burrage, Boston,		1.00
Elias Richards, Weymouth, Mass.		4.00
Richard Clapp, Dorchester, "		2.00
		— 131.06
Donations.		
Henry Soule, Duxbury, Mass.		1.00
John Curtis, Jr. Boston,		5.00
David P. Harman, Haverhill, Mass.		5.00
Nathan Webster, "	"	3.00
Osgood G. Boynton, "	"	1.50
Benjamin Emerson, 2d, "	"	1.00
Samuel E. Jewett, "	"	1.00
Paul George, "	"	1.00
Edmund Sargent, "	"	50
		— 19.00
Total amount received		$150.06

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

NOTICES.

FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

It is proposed to hold a series of conventions throughout the State of Ohio, this summer and fall, to spread Anti-Slavery light and truth abroad, and awaken the people to a sense of their responsibilities in reference to this all-important subject. We appeal to you, fellow-citizens, to your sympathies and sense of justice, for the means of keeping such men as Amos Dresser and Henry Bibb in the field; the one to show what we have to do with slavery, the other to tell of the wrongs and sufferings of the slave, (he having been one of the sufferers,) with pathos and natural eloquence that goes directly to the heart, awakening the tender sympathies of the soul and taking directly hold of the individual's conscience.

Shall they and all others be enabled to plead the cause of freedom and rebuke the wrong?

Shall tongues be mute when deeds are wrought,
That well might shame extremest hell,
Shall freemen lack the indignant thought,
Shall mercy's bosom cease to swell?
"Shall honor bleed, shall truth succumb,
Shall pen, and thought, and soul be dumb.
By all above, around, below,
Be our indignant answer, No.
"Up then in freedom's manly part,
From grey-head eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart,
Scatter the living coals of truth."

Contributions and pledges can be handed to A. F. Hanna, Cadiz, and Cyrus McNeely, Harrison county, Jane Boyd, Lloydsville, Belmont county, Thomas Moore, Carroll county, George Garretson, Treasurer, New Lisbon, Columbiana county, Elihu Bailey, Somerset, Belmont county, or to myself.

Those friendly to the above object are requested to act as agents in making contributions in their respective neighborhoods.

SAMUEL BROOKE.
Gen. Agent, O. A. A. S. Society.

CADIZ, July 3d, 1844.

PAWTUCKET ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The public are hereby informed that the Ninth Annual Fair of the Pawtucket Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, will take place on Wednesday, August 28th, at Columbian Hall, High street, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

The Fairs of this Association have been so long before the public, that it seems superfluous at this time, to do more than simply to announce the yearly return of another, in order to insure a full gathering. This we confidently hope and expect will be the case.

E. SHOVE,
I. J. ADAMS, } Committee.
S. SISSON.

CHESTER COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Chester County Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Friends' Meeting-house, Marlborough, on Third-day, (Tuesday,) the 27th of this month, at 10 o'clock, A. M. It is hoped there will be a full attendance from all parts of the county and places adjacent.

SIMPSON PRESTON, Sec'y.

8th month 15th, 1844.

UNION FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held at Oxford (Friends') Meeting-house, on First day, the 25th instant, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

D. KENT, Sec'y.

Pennsgrove, 8th month 15th, 1844.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Dear friends and fellow laborers.—With hopeful hearts, we have commenced our preparations for our next annual fair, resolved that it shall be greatly superior to that of the last year. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we are dependent upon you. Will you not give us ample proof that we have not relied upon you in vain? You cannot need that we should offer you incentives to increased diligence and zeal in our common cause. The image of the suffering slave is vividly before your mental vision; and were you in any danger of forgetting the sad living picture, it would be frequently revived by some new odious manifestation of the slave power, or by the presence of the fugitive, crossing, in the haste of terror, your brighter path.

Nor need we present to you arguments in favor of this method of advancing our cause. You are aware that our fairs have been a source of great pecuniary profit, as the reports of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society show. The principal part of the profit derived from them have passed into the treasury of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which you are members. In asking your assistance, then, we are but asking you to aid our common cause, through the agencies which you have constituted. You have nobly responded to our calls, in other years. Have you not commenced our second decade with renewed ardor and increased self-sacrifice? Will you not evince it by immediately beginning, with us, preparations for the fair of 1844? Labor, each according to your ability or inclination, to let each do something. All marketable commodities, useful or ornamental, will be gratefully received. If our contributors will send, with their manufactures, a statement of the cost of the materials of each, the committee estimating the labor expended on them, will be careful to prevent any article from being sold at a price below its value. A very large part of the articles sold, yield a *fair profit.* If any of our friends in the country,

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEVER DESPAIR.

The words of the Overcomer to one who said, "I am weary, I am weary; I would that I were dead."

Fainting pilgrim, soon grown weary,
I have words of cheer for thee;
All thy pathway, cold and dreary,
Hath been early trod by me.

Dearest joys when scarcely tasted,
Have been snatched from thee away,
Golden hopes have quickly wasted
In the conflict of thy day,—

Yet hast thou exceeding treasure,
In that bosom lone and bare,
Sunken hope, and shadowed pleasure,
Unexpiring, slumber there:

Though thy pathway darkness hideth,
These shall brighten o'er the storm;
Only where the tempest rideth,
Doth the rainbow bend its form.

On the faded joys thou cherished,
Joys shall spring for evening hours;
Soils whereon the verdure perished,
Yield again the richest flowers.

All the love thy heart has given,
Shall return to gladden thee,
Like the dew that flies to heaven!
Like the bread cast on the sea!

E'en in death it shall not languish;—
Young and sweet a brow I see,
Calm, as when midst parting anguish,
Pure, her blessing fell on me;

And when life is load-like pressing,
And my spirit yearns for rest,
Sweetly comes that strengthening blessing,
Angel-like, unto my breast.

Courage, then, oh! sad wayfarer!
Grasp the shield of faith once more,
Ever yet, the trusting wearer
Better days hath found in store:

Resolutely upward turning
From thy anguish and despair,
Thine extending gaze discerning,
What was dark and hidden there,—

Conflicts stern, and dread accounted,
Shall below thy footsteps lay,
Ladder-rounds, whereon thou mounted,—
Stepping-stones, upon thy way. N.

APOSTROPHE TO THE SCENERY OF CUBA.

BY LORD MORPETH.

The following poetical apostrophe, by Lord Morpeth, to the scenery of Cuba, equally applicable to that of the tierra caliente, will give the reader a more animated picture of the glories of these sunny climes than my own prose can. The verses, which have never never been published, breathe the generous sentiment characteristic of their noble author.

Ye tropic forests of unfading green,
Where the palm tapers and the orange glows,
Where the light bamboo weaves her feathery screen,
And her far shade the matchless ceiba throws!

Ye cloudless ethers of unchanging blue,
Save where the rosy streaks of eve i ve way
To the clear sapphire of your midnight hue,
The burnished azure of your perfect day!

Yet tell me not my native skies are bleak,
That flushed with liquid wealth no cane fields wave;
For Virtue pines and Manhood dares not speak,
Where Nature's glories brighten round the Slave.

Note to Prescott's Mexico, Book 2d, ch. 7.

THE SLAVE MOTHER AND HER BABE.

["Can a woman forget her sucking child."]

BY CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

Oh, massa, let me stay, to catch
My baby's sobbing breath:
His little glassy eye to watch,
And smoothe his limbs in death,
And cover him with grass and leaf,
Beneath the plantain tree!
It is not sullenness, but grief—
O, massa, pity me!

God gave my babe—a precious boon;
To cheer my lonely heart;
But massa called to work too soon,
And I must needs depart.
The morn was chill—I spoke no word,
But fear'd my babe might die,
And heard all day, or thought I heard,
My little baby cry.

At noon—O, how I ran! and took
My baby to my breast!
I linger'd—and the long lash broke
My sleeping infant's rest.
I worked till night—till darkest night,
In torture and disgrace;
Went home and watch'd till morning light;
To see my baby's face.

The fulness from its cheek was gone,
The sparkle from its eye;
Now hot like fire, now cold like stone,
I knew my babe must die.
I work'd upon plantation ground,
Though faint with wo and dread,
Then ran, or flew, and here I found—
See massa, almost dead.

Then give me but one little hour—
O! do not lash me so!
One little hour—one little hour—
And gratefully I'll go.
Ah me! the whip has cut my boy,
I heard his feeble scream;
No more—farewell my only joy,
My life's first gladsome dream!

I lay thee on the lonely sod,
The heaven is bright above;
These Christians boast they have a God;
And say his name is Love:
O gentle, loving God, look down!
My dying baby see;
The mercy that from earth is flown,
Perhaps may dwell with THEE.

From the Charleston Courier.

SONNET WRITTEN IN NEW ENGLAND AY A CAROLINIAN.

THE PURITANS.

After seeing Weir's fine National Picture at Faneuil Hall.

Men were ye!—fearless and strong hearted men,
Firm in endurance, resolute for right,
Ready to beard the lion in his den,
And, slow to conflict, slower still in flight!
I heed not of your bigotry, that grew
From a too-easily persuaded self;
Nor yet of over-confidence in self,—
Hard toils and slender gains might prompt that too—
But ye were men!—brave, earnest, full-soul'd men,
Forever battling in the good old cause
Of man!—his rights, his liberties, and laws.
And ever-onward progress. Be it then,
Your glory to have struggled through the strife,
Renew'd, and sure of still renewing life!

Miscellany.

From "A New Spirit of the Age."

HARRIET MARTINEAU AND MRS. JAMESON.

"Therefore she walks through the great city, veiled
In virtue's adamantine eloquence,
'Gainst scorn and death, and pain, thus trebly mailed
And blending in the smiles of that defence,
The serpent and the dove—Wisdom and Innocence."
REVOLT of ISLAM.

"A thousand winged Intelligences daily
Shall be thy ministers.—
—Thou shalt command all Arts,
As handmaids."—MICROCOSMUS.

"I meant the day-star should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from its lucent seat;
I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemn vice of Greatness, pride:
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosom to reside:
Only a learned and a manly soul
I purposed her; that should, with even powers,
The rock, the spindle, and the shears control
Of destiny, and spin her own free hours."—BEN JONSON.

Harriet Martineau, in whose powers of keen observation, clear thought, patient study, and untiring energy, guided always by singleness of purpose in the pursuit of truth, we should naturally have found promise of a long career of constantly progressive intellectual labor, has been withdrawn by disabling illness from the active course which from her youth she had worthily pursued. Had it been otherwise, a review of the character of her mind and writings must have been conducted as only an examination of one portion of their manifestations, and must have been prophetic as well as retrospective. As it is, it must bear something of the impress of finality. Yet, it will not be worthy of its subject if on that account it is tinged with regret or complaint. In her consistent and well-ordered mind, nothing akin to such a feeling has found a place. We did not require to be told that she has endured the ordeal, peculiarly hard to one of her active habits, with cheerfulness, courage, and faith in "the soul of goodness in things evil." The few works she has published since her illness, have been addressed to the young, and written in a tone of entire sympathy with their buoyant life. This shows a singular freshness of spirit maintained throughout the languor and suffering of the bodily frame. The moral influence emanating from her sick room, and hitherto exerted over the circle of her friends, has by her volume of essays just published, extended itself more widely. Of this beautiful volume we shall speak in its place. It is a pathetic illustration of the way in which

"They also serve who only stand and wait."

Harriet Martineau was born in the year 1802, one of the youngest among a family of eight children. Her father was a proprietor of one of the manufactories of Norwich, in which place his family, originally of French origin, had resided since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. She has herself ascribed her taste for literary pursuits to the extreme delicacy of her health in childhood; to the infirmity (deafness) with which she has been afflicted ever since, which, without being so complete as to deprive her absolutely of all intercourse with the world, yet obliged her to seek occupations and pleasures within herself; and to the affection which subsisted between her and the brother nearest her own age, the Rev. James Martineau, whose fine mind and talents are well known. The occupation of writing, first begun to gratify her own taste and inclination, became afterwards to her a source of honorable independence, when, by one of the disasters so common in trade, her family became involved in misfortunes. She was then enabled to reverse the common lot of unmarried daughters in such circumstances, and cease to be in any respects a burden. She realized an income sufficient for her simple habits, but still so small as to enhance the integrity of the sacrifice which she made to principle in refusing the pension offered to her by Government in 1840. Her motive in refusing it, was, that she considered herself in the light of a political writer, and that the offer did not proceed from the people, but from the Government which did not represent the people.

The list of works published by Harriet Martineau is sufficient of itself to prove her great industry and perseverance in a course once begun. It will be seen that she published early in life, and that the series of her works proceeds with scarcely a break, year by year, onward to the period of her illness. Full as it is, it does not comprehend her numerous contributions to periodical literature, some of which are among the most valuable of her compositions. The list is as follows:—

1823.—"Devotional Exercises, for the use of Young Persons."

1824 and 5.—"Christmas Day, or the Friends," a tale. "The Friends."—Second Part.

1826.—"Principle and Practice," a tale. "The Rioters." Addresses, Prayers, and original Hymns."

1827.—"Mary Campbell," a tale. "The Turn Out," a tale.

1829.—"Sequel to Principle and Practice," a tale. Tracts, for Houlston. "My Servant Rachel," a tale.

1830.—"Traditions of Palestine." "The Essential Faith of the Universal Church," (Prize Essay.) "Five Years of Youth," a tale.

1831.—"The Faith as unfolded by many Prophets." (Prize Essay.) "Providence as manifested through Israel." (Prize Essay.)

1832-'3 and 4.—"Illustrations of Political Economy," "Illustration of Taxation," tales. "Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated," tales.

In this interval Miss Martineau went to America.

1837.—"Society in America."

1838.—"Retrospect of Western Travel." "Letter to the Deaf." "How to observe Morals and Manners." "The Maid of All Work," (Guide to Service.) "The Lady's Maid."

1839.—"Deerbrook," a novel. "The Housemaid," (Guide to Service.)

1840.—"The Dressmaker," with technical aid—(Guide to Trade.) "The Hour and the Man," a Romance.

1841.—"The Playfellow," 4 vols. viz:—"The Settlers at Home." "The Peasant and the Prince." "Feats on the Fiord." "The Crofton Boys."

From these works, the authoress would doubtless, like all of those who have published early in life, gladly expunge some of the earliest. Yet there is not one among them which is out of keeping with the rest. All are written with a moral aim, in some higher, in others lower, but always apparent; all are remarkable, for a free, clear, and unaffected style, which in her latter productions is admirable from its lucid distinctness and simple force; and the whole taken together evince a continual improveability and progression, an undoubted sign of the possession on the part of the writer, of a mind open to and earnest for truth.

The year 1830 marks an epoch in the mind we are studying: the works from that period assume a higher tone, and have in general a higher aim. The "Traditions of Palestine," was a beautiful conception, executed in a spirit of love and poetry which throws a charm over its pages. The period in which Jesus Christ fulfilled his mission on earth, the people among whom he dwelt, the scenes in which he moved, the emotions he awakened, the thoughts he kindled, all are portrayed in a series of descriptions; while He himself (with that true art which has in this instance been instilled by reverence) is never introduced in person. This little book must kindle pure and holy thoughts wherever it is read.

The three Prize Essays published in this and the following year by the Association of Unitarian Dissenters, to which Miss Martineau belongs, display some of the chief powers of her mind. At this period she began her contributions to the "Monthly Repository;" these were sometimes original essays, tales, or poetry; sometimes reviews of metaphysical or theological works. Among the most excellent, we may notice the "Essays on the Art of Thinking," on the "Religion of Socrates," and "True Worshippers;" but *above all*, the poem for the month of August, in a series by different authors, entitled "Songs of the Months."

All these literary labors were coincident with the design which was afterwards accomplished in the "Illustrations of Political Economy." She has herself ascribed the original idea of this successful work to the reading of Mrs. Marcet's "Conversations on Political Economy," which made her perceive that in her own tales entitled the "Rioters" and "The Turn-Out," she had written political economy as M. Jourdain spoke prose, without knowing it. The question which thence presented itself, as to why all the doctrines of the science should not be equally well illustrated by fiction, was followed by a resolution to risk the publication of her Tales. The plan had been rejected by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. They could not see that any practical knowledge or truth was to be conveyed through the medium of fiction, which they regarded in all its forms as light reading, in direct opposition to weighty facts. The leading publishers, probably, had a similar impression; and would not accept the work. At length one was found who undertook the enterprise, and at the end of a month complete success was certain. The books were in everybody's hands; the new number was watched for at the beginning of every month; edition was called for after edition; translations into French and German were made; the reputation of Harriet Martineau as an able writer was established.

This is not the place for an examination of the doctrines of political economy; nor would any such task be incumbent, even in a lengthened analysis of Miss Martineau's work. The task which she proposed to herself was to illustrate such parts of the fundamental doctrines of the science as lead to important practical results, adopting the doctrines as taught by the highest contemporary authorities. No one will deny the clearness and completeness of her illustration.—Her correct interpretation of her authorities is questioned only on one point by a high authority, Mr. John Mill, in his review of her series. That point is her "unqualified condemnation of the *principle* of the poor-laws." "In this," says the reviewer, "she is decidedly behind the present state of the science." What this principle has effected in the working, is another matter. We should, however, conceive on the evidence of passages in her work on "America," relating to the competitive system and its necessary results, that she has subsequently abandoned her former views on this subject.

The stories, by means of which she illustrates her main points, are generally constructed admirably, and testify to a great power of invention. It was no slight undertaking to contrive an interesting plot bearing on twenty-four doctrines of political economy; six more on taxation; and four more on poor-laws and paupers! But the majority of these stories really are interesting on their own account; some of them deeply so. We need only instance "Ireland" as perhaps the finest of all, and add that it was worthily companioned.

The choice of such a class of subjects gave rise to all manner of imputations. The "Quarterly Review," in especial, while enlarging on what did not appear to it as "feminine," certainly forgot what was gentlemanly. To more dispassionate inquirers, the choice will appear simply an evidence of the possession of a mind keenly alive to perceptions of all outward things; actively benevolent; observant of passing events, and the wants and evils of the age; turning its attention, therefore, to studies bearing on those evils and their remedies; logical rather than creative; hopeful of good, therefore too ready at times to adopt a theory bearing a promise of good; and having embraced it, clear and acute in working it out. Too unshackled in spirit, too unaffected and simple-minded to be deterred for a moment from putting forth to the world that which she had conceived of truth and wisdom, by any consideration of what this or the other organ may decide on the subject of feminine occupations; but that which she found to do, "doing it with her might."

The work on "America," written after the tour which Miss Martineau made in that country, is very valuable, as containing an admirably written description by an accurate observer, with a most candid mind and a thirst after the truth. At that period she was possessed of perfect health, and the good spirits natural to her were enhanced by success. The book breathes of cheerfulness and hopefulness. She evidently enjoyed her residence among the Americans, and she has dwelt on their fine institutions, their grand country, their many advantages, as on a favorite theme. Their lighter faults she has touched lightly; their graver errors with a melancholy earnestness. "Their civilization and morals," says she, "fall far below their own principle." This is enough to say. It is better than contrasting them with "European morals and civilization." This is undoubtedly the only philosophical view of the matter; and it is wiser to have faith like Harriet Martineau that the ideal standard set before them will elevate them to itself in time, than to reproach them with discrepancy. It is no wonder that the subject is puzzling to us, who have outgrown our institutions, and are obliged to maintain a continual struggle to bring them into something like harmony with our morals and civilization. Her chapters on slavery and its aspects have a solemnity of reprobation. On the other hand, the following passage contains a view of this subject which other nations are too apt to forget, and is a good instance of that clear-sightedness and candor which are so characteristic of the writer:

"The nation must not be judged of by that portion whose worldly interests are involved in the maintenance of the anomaly; nor yet by the eight hundred flourishing Abolition societies of the North, with all the supporters they have in unassociated individuals. The nation must be judged of as to Slavery by neither of these parties; but by the aspect of the conflict between them. If it be found that the five Abolitionists who first met in a little chamber five years ago, to measure their moral strength against this national enormity, have become a host beneath whose assaults the vicious institution is rocking to its foundations, it is time that slavery was ceasing to be a national reproach. Europe now owes to America the justice of regarding her as the country of Abolitionism, quite as emphatically as the country of Slavery."—*Society in America*, v. 3. p. 249.

This work is as remarkable for its fearless outspoken tone, as for its cheerful, hopeful, and candid views of things. Among other subjects on which the opinions of the writer are freely stated, is that of the condition of women. Miss Martineau accuses the American Constitution of inconsistency in withholding from women political and social equality with men. She points out that while it proclaims, in theory, the equal rights of all the human race (except the blacks), it excludes one-half of the human race from any political rights whatever; neither providing for their independence as holders of property, nor as controllers of legislation, although their interests are equally concerned in both with those of men.

A similarity of opinion on this question is to be found in the writings of Mrs. Jameson. Her delightful work, the "Characteristics of Women," may be said to have derived its origin from her strong feelings concerning the imperfect institutions of society with regard to her own sex; and in her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada," she has explicitly, and in eloquent terms, stated her dissatisfaction, though she has rather called upon legislators to provide a remedy than pointed out one herself, except in her advocacy of a more enlarged and more enlightened system of education.

It is evident that these two fine-minded women have been led to the same opinions by totally different circumstances, and hence they hold them "with a difference." The calm temperament, clear intellect, and active energy of Harriet Martineau ensured to herself a moral independence; the intellectual society in which she moved encouraged it, and her logical head set her to the investigation of the causes which debarred the generality of women from the employment of the healthy and cheerful tone of the inner life of which she was conscious herself. In her writings, therefore, we find no complaints; simply a recognition of existing evils, and an indication of their remedies. With Mrs. Jameson it is different. She sees more difficulties in the case. She knows by experience more of the complications, and is conscious of the mysterious links and sympathies by which the chains have been wound around that ball of the human race to which she belongs.—Her feelings have been awakened to the subject by experience of suffering: and looking round her, and seeing how widely spread such suffering is, she points to the master-passion whence she feels it springs, and to the evil at the root of the tree of life, with a cry for help which often sounds like a wail of despair;

"Strange, and passing strange," she says, "that the relation between the two sexes, the passion of love, in short, should not be taken into deeper consideration by our teachers and our legislators. People educate and legislate as if there was no such thing in the world; but ask the priest, ask the physician—let *them* reveal the amount of moral and physical results from this one cause? * * Must love ever be treated with profaneness, as a mere illusion? or with coarseness, as a mere impulse? or with fear, as a mere disease? or with shame, as a mere weakness? or with levity, as a mere accident? Whereas, it is a great mystery and a great necessity lying at the foundation of human existence, morality, and happiness—mysterious, universal, inevitable as death. Why, then, should love be treated less seriously than death? It is as serious a thing. * * * * * Death must come and love must come—but the state in which they find us?—whether blinded, astonished, and frightened, and ignorant, or, like reasonable creatures, guarded, prepared, and fit to manage our own feelings?—*this*, I suppose, depends upon ourselves; and for want of such self management and self knowledge, look at the evils that ensue!—hasty, improvident, unsuitable marriages; repining, diseased, or vicious celibacy; irretrievable infamy; careless insanity;—the death that comes early, and the love that comes late, reversing the primal laws of our nature."

Mrs. Jameson is well aware of the odium likely to fall upon any meddler with this subject, and thus humorously describes the danger she runs upon:

"It is like putting one's hand into the fire, only to touch upon it; it is the universal bruise, the putrifying sore, on which you must not lay a finger, or your patient (that is, society) cries out and resists; and, like a sick baby, scratches and kicks its physician."—*Mrs. Jameson's "Canada,"* vol. 3, pp. 12, 13.

Mrs. Jameson is an established favorite with the public. She is an accomplished woman, an elegant writer, and her refined taste and quick sensibility are good influences on her age. Her "Characteristics of Women" contain a searching analysis of character and criticism, such as ought to place her name among those of the greatest of the commentators of Shakspeare. Her exposition of the character of Cordelia is, in especial, beautifully true; and her perception of the intensity, and strength, and real dignity of soul in Helena (in "All's Well that Ends Well"), notwithstanding that the tenor of all the incidents and circumstances around her wound and shock, manifest the true power to look beyond the outward shows of things and read the heart. The "Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad" is a delightful book; accomplishing that rare task of rendering descriptions of work and art pleasant reading instead of dull catalogues. The authoress has also published the "Lives of Celebrated Female Sovereigns;" and "Explanatory Notes to the Series of Outlines, by Retzch," called "Retzch's Fancies.—The "Diary of an Ennuyée" has gone through more editions than any of her works. It is not only a delightful book of travels, but the vivid picture of an individual mind—a personal narrative, which is always exciting and interesting. But self-consciousness, the bane of all real emotion, is implied in the possibility of recording emotion; and feeling is apt "to die, if it but look upon itself." Hence, we regard those who enrich the world's experience by the disclosure of their own souls, to be themselves the sacrifice; for both joy and sorrow are blunted by their own record.

The "Deerbrook" of Harriet Martineau has not enhanced the reputation of its authoress. The conception involves a moral puzzle, which is always painful. Neither does the catastrophe solve the puzzle. As the hero is made to sacrifice love to a supposed and mistaken view of duty, thus tampering with a great reality for the sake of a shadow, the plot ought to end in a tragedy, instead of in peace after a struggle. "The Hour and the Man," is a story of deep interest; but fiction has done little for it. In the form of an authentic memoir of its grand subject, the life and death of "Touseaint L'Ouverture," its effect would have been more powerful. Much finer than either of these works of fiction are the tales comprising the series called the "Playfellow," published within the last two years. These tales, constructed simply, to suit the minds for which they are intended, and founded on the emotions and actions of children, breathe a spirit of noble fortitude and endurance, energy, and self-control, which make them healthy reading for old and young. If they have a fault it is that they are rather wanting in love as an influence, resting more on the teachings of suffering. Among them all, "The Crofton Boys" is our especial favorite. In all these works there is evinced a very great power of description, and frequently a quiet humor. Harriet Martineau is never personal nor satirical. "Life in the Sick Room" is published without a name; but that she is the authoress cannot be doubted for a moment by any one who has studied her writings, and far less by any one who has held companionship with herself; for it breathes of herself in every thought and word, chastened, purified, and instructed by suffering, and with eyes firmly fixed on the countenance of the Angel of Death, which is to her not terrible, but calm, in pale and solemn beauty. It would also appear, though no name is mentioned, that the friend to whom she dedicates the volume is Elizabeth B. Barret, the elegant poetess and accomplished scholar, who, like herself, long immured within the four walls of her chamber, yet possesses sympathies alive to beauty and all fine influences, and a spirit expanding into and aspiring towards infinity. The holy teachings of this book are more touching in their wisdom than would be the words of one who came to us "from the dead;" for here the bourne is not passed; the words come indeed from one who has become accustomed to her "footing on the shaking plank over the deep dark river," but who is not too far removed from our sympathies, and has not yet laid aside the conditions of our common nature.

Both of these fine writers have, as we have seen, advocated a remodelling of our institutions with regard to their own sex. The one represents the intellect of the question, the other the feeling; one brings to it an acute abstract comprehension, the other all the sympathies of a woman; one reasons from observation, the other from experience; one has been roused to the cause by general benevolence, the other, probably, by personal suffering. Harriet Martineau has devoted her powers chiefly to science, moral or political. She has generally written with some fixed aim, some doctrine to illustrate, some object to accomplish. Mrs. Jameson, on the other hand, has pursued the study of art. She is a fine critic, and possesses a subtle insight into character. We may expect many more works from her. To the course of Harriet Martineau we must look, as to one nearly closed; but, close when it may, she has done enough to prove her possession of a mind endowed with the capability of great sefulness, which she has nobly applied to high purposes. She has shown the power of grasping a principle; of evolving from it all its legitimate consequences, and of so clearly arranging them as to present truth to the understanding, and to the heart also, by its consistency and harmony. Her genius is not creative; but her works of fiction exhibit a rare faculty of conception, and the power of combining the materials collected by her accurate observation and clear thought, so as to produce a charm and an interest. She is poetical, though not a poet. One composition, however, to which we have already referred, might, by itself, give her a claim to the title; but, perhaps, there is no fine mind which has not in its time produced its one poem. We conclude with that poem, and we feel that in reference to her, we so conclude appropriately:—

"SONG FOR AUGUST."

"Beneath this starry arch,
Nought resteth or is still;
But all things hold their march
As if by one great will.
Moves one, moves all;
Hark to the foot-fall!
On, on, for ever.

"Yon sheaves were once but seed;
Will ripens into deed;
As cave-drops swell the streams,
Day thoughts feed nightly dreams,
And sorrow tracketh wrong,
As echo follows song.
On, on, for ever.

"By night, like stars on high,
The hours reveal their train;
They whisper and go by;
I never watch in vain.
Moves one, move all;
Hark to the foot-fall!
On, on, for ever.

"They pass the cradle head,
And there a promise shed;
They pass the moist new grave,
And bid rank verdure wave;
They bear through every clime,
The harvests of all time.
On, on, for ever."

UNWRITTEN MUSIC.

BY N. P. WILLIS.

There is unwritten music. The world is full of it. I hear it every hour that I wake, and my waking sense is surpassed, sometimes, by my sleeping—though that is a mystery. There is no sound of simple nature that is not music. It is all heaven's work, and so harmony. You may mingle and divide, and strengthen the passages of its great anthem, and it is still melody—melody. The winds of summer blow over the waterfall and the brooks, and bring their voices to your ear, as if their sweetness was linked by an accurate finger; yet the wind is but a fitful player, and you may go out when the tempest is up, and hear the strong trees moaning as they lean before it, and the long grass hissing as it sweeps through, and its own solemn monotony over all—and the dimple of the same brook, and the waterfall's unaltered base, shall still reach you in the intervals of its power, as much in harmony as before, and as much a part of its perfect and perpetual hymn. There is no accident of nature's causing, which can bring in discord. The loosened rock may fall into the abyss, and the overthrown tree rush down through the branches of the wood, and the thunder peal awfully in the sky; and, sudden and violent as these changes seem, their tumult goes up with the sound of wind and water, and the exquisite ear of the musician can detect no jar.

It is not mere poetry to talk of "voices of summer." It is the day-time of the year, and its myriad influences are audibly at work. Even at night you may lay your ear to the ground, and hear that faintest of murmurs, the sound of growing things. I used to think, when I was a child, that it was fairy music. If you have been used to rising early, you have not forgotten how the stillness of the night seems increased by the timid note of the first bird. It is the only time when I would lay a finger on the lap of nature—the deep hush is so very solemn. By and by, however, the birds are all up, and the peculiar holiness of the hour declines—but what a world of music does the sun shine on! the deep lowing of the cattle bending in with the capricious warble of a thousand of heaven's happiest creatures, and the stir of industry coming on the air like the undertones of a choir, and the voice of man, heard in the distance over all, like a singer among instruments, giving them meaning and language! And then, if your ear is delicate, you have minded how all these sounds grew softer and sweeter, as the exhalations of the dew floated up, and the vibrations loosened in the thin air.

You should go out some morning in June, and listen to the notes of the birds. They express, far more than our own, the character. From the scream of the vulture and the eagle, to the low cooing of the dove, they are all modified by their habits of support, and their consequent dispositions. With the small birds, the voice appears to be but an outporing of gladness, and it is a pleasure to see, that without one articulate word, it is so sweet a gift to them; it seems a necessary vent to their joy of existence, and I believe in my heart that a dumb bird would die of its imprisoned fullness.

Nature never seems so utterly still to me as in the depth of a summer afternoon. The heat has driven in the birds, and the leaves hang motionless on the trees, and no creature has the heart, in that faint sultriness, to utter a sound. The snake sleeps on the rock, and the frog lies breathing in the pool, and even the murmur that is heard at night, is inaudible, for the herbage droops beneath the sun, and the seed has no strength to burst its covering. The world is still, and the pulses beat languidly. It is a time for sleep.

But if you would hear one of nature's most various harmonies, lie down in the edge of the wood when the evening breeze begins to stir, and listen to its coming. It touches first the silver foliage of the birch, and the slightly hung leaves at its nearest breath will lift and rustle like a thousand tiny wings, and then it creeps up to the tall fir, and the fine tassels send out a sound like a low whisper, and as the oak feels its influence, the thick leaves stir heavily, and a deep tone comes suddenly out like the echo of a far-off bassoon. They are all wind-harps of a different power, and as the breeze strengthens and sweeps equally over them all, their united harmony has a wonderful grandeur and beauty.

Then what is more soothing than the dropping of the rain? You should have slept in a garret, to know how it can lull and bring dreams. How I have lain, when a boy, and listened to the patter of the large drops upon the roof, and held my breath as it grew fainter and fainter, till it ceased utterly, and I heard nothing but the rushing of the strong gust, and the rattling of the panes. I used to say over my prayers, and think of the apples I had stolen, then! But were you ever out fishing upon a lake in a smart shower? It is like the playing of musical glasses. The drops ring out with a clear, bell-like tinkle, following each other sometimes so closely, that it resembles the winding of a distant horn; and then in the momentary intervals, the bursting of the thousand tiny bubbles comes stealthily on your ear more like the recollection of a sound, than a distinct murmur. Not that I fish; I was ever a milky-hearted boy, and had a foolish notion that there was pain in the restless death of those panting and beautiful creatures; but I loved to go out with the old men when the day set in with rain, and lie dreamily over the gunwale, listening to the changes of which I have spoken. It had a quieting effect on my temper, and stilled for awhile the uneasiness of that vague longing that is like a fever at a boy's heart.

THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN ARABIA.

We have before us a letter from Bishop Doane giving a further interesting account of the remarkable inscriptions found on some ancient monuments near Adon, on the coast of Hadramant, and first deciphered by Rev. C. Forster, of England. These records, it is said, restore to the world its earliest written language, and carry us back to the time of Jacob, and within five hundred years of the flood.

The inscriptions are in three parts. The longest is of ten lines, engraved on a smooth piece of rock, forming one side of the terrace at Hisn Ghorab. Then there are three short lines, found on a small detached rock on the summit of the hill. There are also two lines found near the long inscriptions, lower down the terrace. They all relate to one transaction, an incident in Adite history. The tribe of Ad, according to Mr. Sale, were descended from Ad, the son of Aws or Uz, the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah. The event recorded is the rout and entire destruction of the sons of Ac, an Arab tribe, by the Aws or tribe of Ad, whom they invaded. In Mr. Forster's book, facsimiles are given of the inscription; the Aditic and the Hamyaritic alphabet; and a glossary containing every word of them, its derivation and its explanation; with notes of copious illustration upon every point which they involve. The first inscription of ten lines is thus translated:

We dwelt, living long luxuriously, in the zenanas of this
spacious mansion; our condition exempt from misfor-
tune and adversity. Rolled in through our channel
The sea, swelling against our castle with angry surge;
our fountains flowed with murmuring fall, above
The lofty palms; whose keepers planted dry dates in our
valley date-grounds; they sowed the arid rice.
We hunted the young mountain-goats and the young
hares, with gins and snares; beguiling we drew forth
the fishes.
We walked with slow, proud gait, in needle-worked,
many colored silk vestments, in whole silks, in grass-
green chequered robes.
Over us presided kings, far removed from baseness, and
stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men. They
noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber,
Good judgments, written in books to be kept; and we
proclaimed our belief in miracles, in the resurrection, in
the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.
Made an inroad robbers, and would do us violence; we
rode forth, we and our generous youth, with stiff and
sharp-pointed spears; rushing onward.
Proud champions of our families and wives; fighting va-
liantly, upon coursers with long necks, dun-colored,
iron-gray, and bright bay.
With our swords still wounding and piercing our adver-
saries, until charging home, we conquered and crushed
this refuse of mankind.

The short inscription in three lines reads thus:

With hostile haste the men of crime
We assailed; onward rushed
Our horses; and trampled them under foot.

The two-line inscription, which is under the long inscription, in the terrace, is as follows:

Divided into parts, and inscribed from right to left, and
marked with points, this song of triumph, Sarash
Dzerahh.
Transpierced, and hunted down, and covered their faces
with blackness, Aws the Beni Ac.

On the subject of these inscriptions, Mr. Forster, in his dedication of his book to the Archbishop of Canterbury, thus remarks:

"What Job, (who, living in the opposite quarter of Arabia, amid the sands of the great Northern desert, had no lasting material within reach on which to perpetuate his thoughts,) so earnestly desired, stands here realized." "Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book! That (like the kindred creed of the lost tribe of Ad) they were *graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock forever!* (For mine is a better and brighter revelation than theirs.) For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in the flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

But it is not the antiquity of these monuments, however high, which constitutes their value; it is the precious central truths of revealed religion which they record, and which they have handed down from the first ages of the post-diluvian world, that raise them above all price. Viewed in this respect, they strike at the very root of scepticism, and leave not even his own hollow ground beneath the feet of the unbeliever. For, if what the infidel vainly would bring into the question, as originating with Christianity, stands here, registered as the primeval faith of mankind, there is an end, at once, to the idle sophistry of unbelief."

"The inscriptions on the rock of Hisn Ghorab, a contemporary witness of the faith of the most ancient of the old Arabians, changes the state of things, placing beyond the cavils of scepticism itself, at once, the fact and the purity of their belief in the scriptural doctrine of the resurrection; and presenting to the eye this great Gospel truth, (to borrow the language of Mr. Burke,) 'covered with the awful hoar of innumerable ages.'"—*New-York paper.*

A CANDIDATE.—A man in Casey county, Ky.) has announced himself as a candidate for the Legislature, by the following placard, which he has tacked to the Court-House door of that county. "John Brent, Locofoco, has a sickly wife and eight small children, is very poor, afraid to steal, don't like to work, against the tariff, but in favor of Texas, would like to be elected to the Legislature."

Books,

For Sale at the Office of the American A. S. Society, 142 Nassau St. N. Y.

THE LIBERTY BELL. of 1844, an Annual, published for the Massachusetts Fair, and consisting of various original articles, from the ablest Anti-Slavery writers in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

XIMENA, AND OTHER POEMS, by *James Bayard Taylor*. Philadelphia, 1844.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES, or a true picture of the AMERICAN CHURCH AND CLERGY, by *S. S. Foster*; and various other standard Anti-Slavery works.

New-York, July 4, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress*. The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,

Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.

Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. There will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our ef